

kings of Aragon, his father rising to the rank of vice-admiral. Bernat spent 60 years in the Crown's service, with a special association with the administration of newly-conquered Sardinia where he was already lieutenant of the Mestre Racional in 1336 from 1339. From 1348 he was a scribe in the royal chancery at Barcelona and a close confidant of Pere IV of Aragon (1336–87), who sent him on many missions. From ca 1372 his administrative duties diminished as Pere made him the chief collaborator in the *Crònica de Pere el Cerimoniós*, one of the four great chronicles of medieval Catalan historiography, (the others being the chronicles of → Jaume I, Bernat → Desclot and Ramon → Muntaner).

The initiative and early stages of the work rested with the king. Moreover, Bernat and his chief helpers, Arnau de Torrelles and Tomàs Canyelles at first, later Bernat Ramon des Cavall and Ramon de Vilanova, faithfully reflected the king's desire for a chronological work to be used by his successors, which, in the style of the *Llibre dels Fets*, insisted on the role of providence in the Crown's success. The great contribution of Descoll and his helpers was that, through their immediate access to royal documents, they provided a detailed narrative of unique value.

The original title, as Pere indicates in the foreword, is *Llibre en què es contenen tots los grans fets qui són entrevenguts en nostra Casa, dins lo temps de la nostra vida, començant-los a nostra nativitat* (Book in which all the great facts that have occurred in our House in the time of our life are held, beginning with our birth). The chronicle covers the period 1319–1369, and is ordered in six books or chapters preceded by a foreword in which Pere exposes his conception of history, of providentialist nature, in a way closely related to the views of his predecessor Jaume I in the *Llibre dels fets*.

The first book details the reign of Pere's father, Alfons IV of Aragon, including the Catalan conquest of Sardinia (Descoll's outstanding knowledge of Sardinia is particularly reflected in the detailed account of its conquest) the second the beginning of Pere's reign; the third the conquest of Majorca; the fourth the Union revolt, that affected Aragon and Valencia; the fifth the war against Genoa and the sixth the war against Pedro I of Castile or War of the Two Peters (1356–1375). Finally, the chronicle contains an appendix, from the end of the war against Castile until the war against Count Joan I of Empúries (1384), written between 1385–1425.

There are six extant manuscripts: three in Madrid, of which two are complete: Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Fondo Salazar 9/482 and 9/483, and another containing only the fourth book: Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, I1; there are a further two in Barcelona: Biblioteca del Seminari, 74 and Biblioteca de Catalunya, 976; and one in Valencia: Biblioteca General i Històrica de la Universitat de València, 212. The *Crònica* was edited for the first time by Pere Miquel → Carbonell i de Soler, who included it in the *Cròniques d'Espanya* (Chronicles of Spain), written before 1513 and edited in 1547.

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DAMIAN SMITH
DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Descriptio Europae Orientalis (Description of Eastern Europe)

spring 1308. France. Geographical treatise in Latin, composed by an unknown monk, probably Dominican, maybe of French origin. According to one hypothesis, its author was an archbishop of Bar (Montenegro), Andreas Hungarus. The narrative was written for Charles of Valois, who planned the expedition against Constantinople and tried to enter into an alliance with Serbia, ruled by king Stephen Uroš II Milutin. Sources include the standard geographical and encyclopedic literature, such as *Speculum historiae* of → Vincent of Beauvais and the *Flos historiarum terrae Orientis* of Hayton of Curchi, as well as one of the versions of the lost → *Gesta Ungarorum deperdita*, maybe that of Magister Ákos.

The author describes the Constantinople Empire (mislocating Trapezunt and Sinopa), Albania, Raška (Serbia), Bulgaria, Rus' (Halych), Hungary, Poland and Bohemia, as well as the Balkan Vlachs. He was well-informed about the geography of the states, their administration, politics, customs and economy. On religious matters, he shows hostility towards the "schismatics", that is, Orthodox Christians, and knowledge of the

"heretics" in Serbia, the Bogomils. The treatise is a very important source for the history of the Balkans and Central- and Eastern Europe, and shows well the growing interests of the French aristocracy in this region.

There are five manuscripts of the *Descriptio*, of which two are important to the reconstruction of the lost archetype: Paris, BnF, lat. 5515 (14th century) and Leiden, UB, cod. BPL 66 (14th/15th century).

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RYSZARD GRZESIK

Detmar von Lübeck

before 1363– after 1394. Northern Germany. Franciscan monk and priest. Compiler of a Lübeck universal chronicle in Middle Low German. Detmar entered the Franciscan monastery of St Catherine in Lübeck in 1363, where he was a reading master 1368–80, and is attested until 1394.

In 1385, two Lübeck judicial functionaries, Thomas Murkerke and Herman Langhe, engaged him to write a continuation of Johannes → Rode's *Stades-Chronik*. Detmar exceeded their expectations. In several phases he revised Rode's chronicle for 1350–86, completed it to 1395, then repeatedly reworked the entire material including his own sections. With recourse to local annals, but also to → Helmold of Bosau, → Martin of Opava, → Vincent of Beauvais and the introduction to the → *Sächsische Weltchronik*, he thus compiled a Lübeck universal chronicle in several versions, finally covering the period from 1101 to 1395.

While Detmar's early drafts are only preserved in fragments, the full version (with continuations) is known in three manuscripts which are presumably witnesses to a later redaction: Ham-

burg, Bibliothek der Patriotischen Gesellschaft, no shelfmark (destroyed by fire in 1842); Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, ms. Lub. 2° 1 & 2° 2 (two vols., a 17th-century transcription of which is Lub. 2° 3); Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, ms. Lub. 2° 4. With the exception of Lub. 2° 1, which after its evacuation in World War II is still displaced in Yerevan (Armenia), Mashtots Matenadaran, all Lübeck manuscripts were returned from the former USSR in 1990/8.

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CHRISTINE PUTZO

Devastatio Constantinopolitana (The Devastation of Constantinople)

13th century. France/Italy. Brief (five manuscript pages) but detailed Latin eyewitness account of the Fourth Crusade, covering the period from the preaching of Peter Capuano in France in 1198 (misdated in the text as 1202) to the division of the spoils of Constantinople in the spring of 1204. Probably composed from personal notes, the *Devastatio* is outstanding for its wealth of factual data and for criticizing the Fourth Crusade as a series of broken promises by the rich and powerful, who betrayed the poor of Christ and the crusade's authentic spirit, a perspective which recalls that of → Robert de Clari. The author's identity is controversial: he is most likely to have been a secular cleric from the Rhineland. Arguments for his being Italian or French and belonging to the entourage of Boniface of Montferrat or that of Baldwin of Flanders are unconvincing. The date of composition remains uncertain: references in the text may suggest a date after the death of Pope Innocent III in 1216. The text survives inserted

in a manuscript of the → *Annales Herbiopolenses* (Venice, BNM, Lat. Z,398 (1990)).

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ANGELA TOMEI

Dexippus, Publius Herennius

ca 200–75. Greece. Born in Athens, Dexippus was an important politician in his home city, ultimately an eponymous archon. In AD 267 he led the Athenian resistance against the invading Heruli. He wrote a chronicle of universal history (Χρονική ἱστορία) in twelve books, which began with mythical times and continued until AD 269/70. The surviving fragments are transmitted in → Eunapius of Sardis, the → *Historia Augusta*, → Georgios Synkellos, Stephanos of Byzantium, the *Suda*, the *Excerpta Eusebiana* and the *Etymologicum Magnum*. The chronological framework was based on Olympiads, and for the intervening years, on Athenian archons and Roman consuls; for the earlier period Dexippus probably used also the ancient Egyptian king-lists. The chronicle also contained narratives, proems and etymological and ethnographic digressions. According to Eunapius, the work was accurate and featured a critical examination of many sources. Dexippus focussed his interest on political and military history and considered Thucydides his literary model.

He also composed τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, a history of the events after Alexander (323–321/20 BC) in four books, which was mainly based on the homonymous work of Arrian, and Ἐκυθηκὰ, a monograph in three books on the barbarian invasions of the third century (probably from AD 238 to Aurelian's rule). We owe our knowledge of these writings to → Jordanes, Photios, the Byzantine *Excerpta de sententiis, de legationibus* and *de strategematibus*, the *Suda* and the *Scholia in Lucianum*.

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LAURA MECELLA

Dexter, Nummius Aemilianus

4th century. Hispania (Spain). A son of Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, Dexter was Proconsul of Asia from 379 to 387 and *Praefectus Praetorio Italiae* in 395, under Emperor Theodosius the Great. In 392 → Jerome dedicated to him *De viris illustribus*, after Dexter had suggested he write biographies of Christian authors following the model of → Suetonius. Though Jerome only ever named Pacianus' son by his cognomen, scholarship has identified him as the proconsul Nummius Aemilianus Dexter on the basis of other details in Jerome's texts, Roman officials listings and epigraphy.

According to *De viris illustribus* 132, Dexter was the author of a now lost universal history: *Dexter, Paciani, de quo supra dixi, filius, clarus apud saeculum et Christi fidei deditus, fertur ad me omnimodam historiam texuisse, quam necdum legi* ("I am told that Dexter, the son of the aforementioned Pacianus, famous in his generation and devoted to the faith in Christ, has written a comprehensive history, which I have not yet read").

The *Chronicon Dextri* printed in MIGNE (PL 31, 55–572) is not this work but a forgery by J. R. de la Higuera. For this 16th-century work, see → *Omnimoda Historia*.

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JOSEF LÖSSL

Dhayl

Dhayl are a genre in Arabic historical literature. The word means "supplement/continuation". Supplements in the sense of continuing a specific work in time, not in the sense of adding supplementary material to the period covered by the original work, were authored in all historiographical genres that existed in Islamic societies. They started to appear in stronger numbers from the early fourth century AH (tenth century AD) onwards. Authors and audiences generally understood the supplement to be an independent work. However, supplements followed the main work in scope and style and rarely adopted an entirely different approach. Thus for example a supplement to a local chronicle tended to focus on the same locality and to adhere to a similar narrative

framework. The shift from a dynastic history to a local history for example, to be found in → 'Abū Shāma's supplement to his own chronicle, remained the exception. The decision to author a supplement was arguably linked to the enhanced status the new work might gain by being associated with a recognized name. Consequently, we find a large number of supplements for reputed historical works, such as those by al-→ Tabarī, al-→ Khatīb al-Baghdādī and → Ibn 'Asakir. A recurrent phenomenon was the (more or less) continuous succession of several dhayls: the seventh (thirteenth) century author Ibn al-Qifti was able to advise the student of history to study the nearly uninterrupted chain of historical works that continued al-Tabarī's work from the third (ninth) century down to his age (quoted in ROSENTHAL, 81–3). A frequent phenomenon was the summary-cum-supplement that summarised the main work and continued the narrative in its abridged version.

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KONRAD HIRSCHLER

Di Lemmo, Giovanni

d. between 1345 and 1350. Italy. Author of a chronicle of San Miniato (Tuscany) in Latin prose for the years 1299–1320, mainly relating to the events of its territory. Through an analysis of the documents relating to his son Filippo, a recent study by VIERI MAZZONI has linked Giovanni to the Armaleoni family. From Comugnori, a small castle near S. Miniato, he probably moved to the town at the beginning of the 14th century. He came from a wealthy family and started his activity as public notary for the Commune. He was close to the powerful Mangiadori family. He embraced the pro-Guelph political attitude of his Commune, which was formerly philo-imperial, but was attracted by the personality of Henry VII of Luxembourg. He married Agnola in 1319 and had a child named Filippo, who became a notary too. As can be inferred from surviving documents, Giovanni died between 3rd November 1345 and 9th May 1350.

We have no evidence for how long he dedicated himself to his activity as a historian, apart from

a later addition to his autograph manuscript, in which there are reports about local history as well as about wider political events, such as the conflict between White and Black Guelphs, the descent into Italy of the emperor, and the affairs of Pisa and Lucca. The whole of his work is influenced by his notarial mentality and competence: in particular rigour and objectivity in presenting the events. But although he never intervenes in the first person, his opinion on the events shows through in his lexical choices, the different tones, registers, and rhetorical devices, highlighting his ideals for social order and civil unity, moral integrity, and Christian values. The autograph of this chronicle survives: Firenze, Archivio di Stato, *Carte Stroziane*, serie seconda, numero 79.

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ALICE CIULLI

Di tutsch kronik von Behem lant (The German chronicle of Bohemia)

14th century. Bohemia. German (East Central German dialect). Anonymous annalistic verse compilation, some 558 lines in length. It treats Czech history from the beginnings until 1342. The compiler was probably a member of the Prague monastery of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, a German from the Czech lands; he is sometimes identified with the translator of the German version of the so-called → Dalimil. The main source was a catalogue of the Czech rulers. Some data in the chronicle coincides with information from other sources from the 14th century, mainly the Zbraslav Annals (*Excerpta de diversis chronicis*) and to the chronicle by → Neplach of Opatovice. After 1319 the author, as a contemporary, depicts events independently. The sole manuscript is Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna pražské metropolitní kapituly, G 45.

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MARIE BLÁHOVÁ

Diagrammatic chronicles

- 1. General remarks; 2. Early examples; 3. Rise of diagrammatic chronicles; 4. Late medieval examples; 5. Co-transmission; 6. Impact

1. General remarks

A diagram is a two-dimensional, abstract representation of information that can take different forms. For displaying historical data in chronicles, the most important and frequent forms are stemmata and tables. It is characteristic of diagrammatic chronicles as a genre that the diagram itself is the leading structure as opposed to stemmata or diagrams illustrating and clarifying passages in a narrative text.

Any textual narrative is read and perceived successively, and thus necessarily concentrates on the temporal succession of events; in a text, even events that took place at the same time have to be reported in sequence in a "one-dimensional" continuum. Diagrammatic chronicles solve this dilemma by using the two-dimensional body of the page to display the data in a way that allows for a simultaneous perception of diachronicity and synchronicity.

In both Latin and Greek and all other European languages (in contrast to Hebrew or Arabic, for example), the direction of reading and perceiving a text is from left to right (for the lines) and from top to bottom (for the body of the text). This determines the general layout of medieval chronicles as well as more specifically, the way lists and diagrams are structured: chronological information can be arranged either vertically, usually with descending dates (i.e. the low numbers at the top,

the high ones at the bottom of the page), or horizontally from left to right, thus corresponding to the way the pages are turned.

As a rule, diagrammatic chronicles are world chronicles surveying human history with a universal scope. The line leading back into history is usually the genealogy from Adam to Christ, based on Matt. 1,1–14 and Luke 3,23–38, but also on the genealogies of the Old Testament, providing an uninterrupted chain, which makes diagrammatic chronicles highly relevant for the study of chronology in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period (see → Chronology and chronometry).

The majority of diagrammatic chronicles use a subdivision of time into the six ages, beginning with Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, the Babylonian Exile and Christ. These are often highlighted by larger or more lavishly decorated graphic elements, or sometimes just indicated by rubrics. The idea of the four ages of the world and of the translatio imperii is also present and given visual form in continuous lines. (See → Six Ages of the World; → Daniel's dream; → Translatio imperii).

2. Early examples

Among the earliest known examples of a world chronicle in a Christian perspective taking an annalistic layout is → Eusebius of Caesarea's Chronicon, in which several columns are used to synchronise dates of rulers, e.g. Athenian, Latin and Egyptian (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Auct. T.2.26 ranks among the early manuscript copies, Italy, fifth century).

Early examples of surveys of Biblical history using a genealogical format occur in Bible or Beatus manuscripts from mid-tenth-century Visigothic Spain, such as the Bible of Léon (Léon, San Isidoro, cod. 2) or the so-called Morgan-Beatus (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 644), possibly going back to fifth-century prototypes. These encompass and visualise both lines of Christ's ancestors from Adam to Christ and their progeny in a synopsis representing genealogical succession by linking names inscribed in medallions. Outside Spain, this type of genealogical diagram is to be found only in few, yet very prominent Bible manuscripts, and only in the second half of the twelfth century: in the Bibles of Parc (London, British Library, add. 14797–14799), Floreffe (London, BL, add. 17737–17738) and Foigny (Paris, BnF, lat. 15177–15180) [Fig. 13]. Interestingly, in the first two of these codices, the

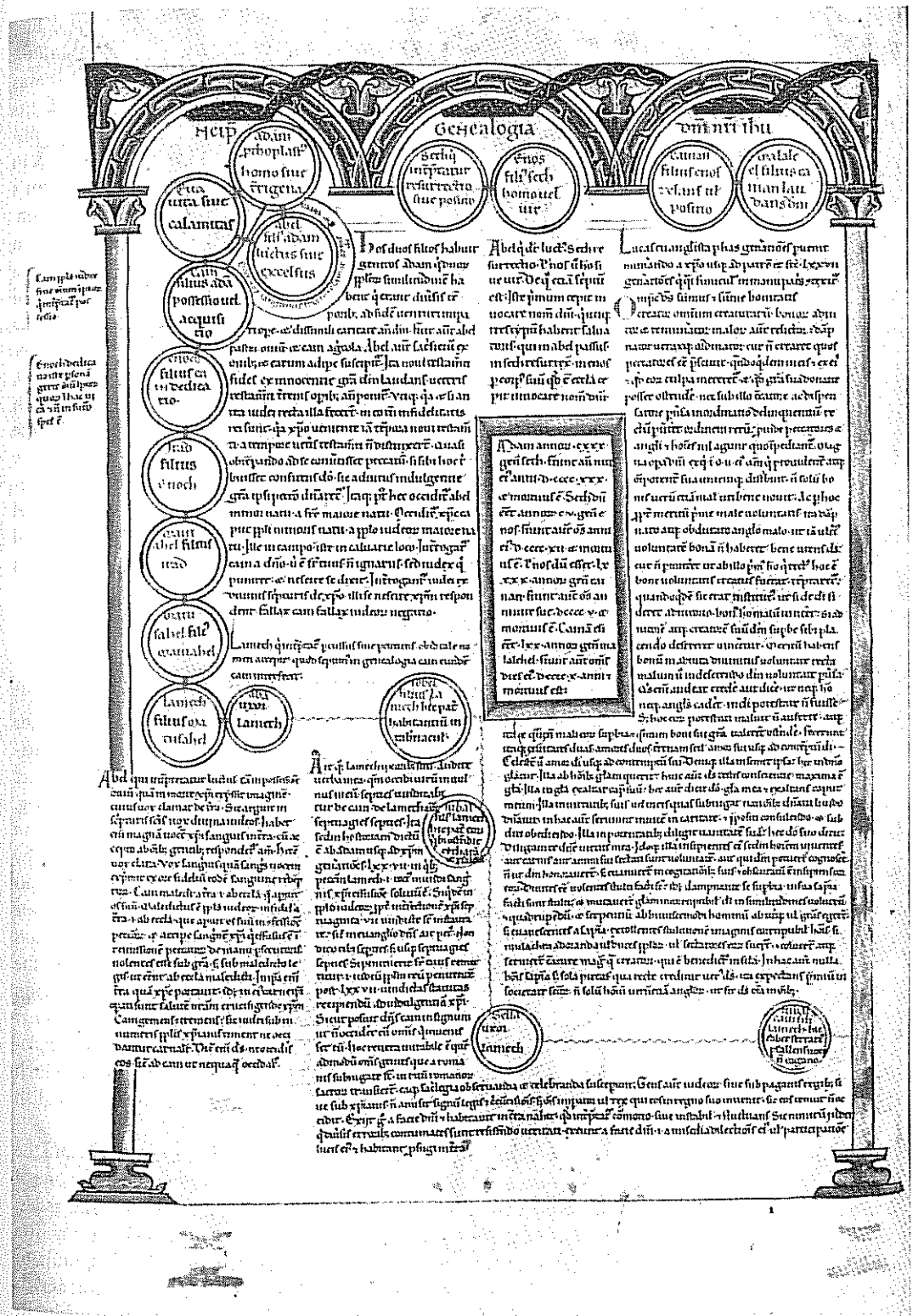


Fig. 13 Genealogical Table, Bible of Foigny. Northern France, ca 1200. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 15177, fol. 2^v.

genealogical survey of Biblical history is combined with a set of Easter table annals.

Generally, the rise of diagrammatic chronicles took place in the twelfth century, when on the one hand, the interest in the *sensus historicus* of the Bible and in historiography greatly increased, and on the other hand, a general attempt to order and structure knowledge, often aided by visual devices, was a prevalent characteristic of scholastic theology and learning. Many diagrammatic chronicles contain other schematic representations, but also maps and geographical information (see → Cartography and geographical excursus).

3. Rise of diagrammatic chronicles

→ Hugh of St Victor (ca 1097–1141) is of great importance for the development of visual concepts in theology and historiography [Fig. 14]. His *Chronicon* (*De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*) forms a great synopsis of biblical as well as post-biblical history, displayed before the eye of the reader in a set of tables coordinating dates in the tradition of Eusebius. In his preface, Hugh highlights the importance of order and structure of learning: “orderly arrangement is clarity of knowledge... [it] illuminates the intelligence and secures memory”. Three modes of clarification determine the way the tables are set up: place, date and person. While the first tables for the beginning of Biblical history have no need for geographical differentiation, later Hugh designs separate tables for different geographical regions and their ruling dynasties.

Hugh's *Chronicon* influenced the *Abbreviationes chronicorum* of → Ralph of Diceto (ca 1130–ca 1200) and other chronicles, many of them English. In Hugh's *De arca mystica*, this linear plan is expanded into what could be described as an enormous three-dimensional structure in a matrix of history, chronology and geography, which encompasses the history of the world from its creation to the end of times. It has been a matter of debate whether this mnemonic diagram of the world was ever realised in a painting (cf. the opposed viewpoints of M. CARRUTHERS and C. RUDOLPH), but as a visual concept, be it as an image to the mind's eye or as a physical image, it was hugely influential.

One generation after Hugh, → Peter of Poitiers (ca 1130–1205) invented what became probably

the most momentous concept of visualising history in a diagrammatic manner: the *Compendium Historiae in genealogia Christi* [Fig. 15]. It was compiled as a mnemonic tool to help students and scholars of the Sacred Page memorise biblical history in the late twelfth century, and was in fact frequently attached to → Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* in the manuscript tradition. The *Compendium* uses a vertical layout, often on scrolls. The genealogy of Christ functions as a time-line, to which all other dynasties mentioned in the Bible (Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians etc.) as well as the Jewish high priests and judges are paralleled and synchronised. Soon after 1200, it was expanded into a universal chronicle, with the line of the popes taking the position of the *linea Christi*, functioning as the time axis and the line of Roman and Holy Roman Emperors, sometimes also other ruling dynasties running parallel to it. The first datable example of this extended version is from 1208/15: London, BL, Cotton Faustina B.vii.

4. Late medieval examples

The *Compendium* provided the model for numerous late medieval and early modern diagrammatic chronicles (G. MELVILLE). Later adaptations include the old French *Brut* rolls (e.g. London, BL, Royal 14.B.v; 14.B.vi), the *Summa de aetatibus* (*Compilatio totius Bibliae*) by → Iohannes de Utino, the anonymous → *A tous nobles*, the anonymous → *Chronique anonyme universelle à la mort de Charles VII*, the *Fasciculus temporum* of 1474 by Werner → Rolevinck, the → *Rudimentum Novitiorum* of 1475, Hartmann → Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* of 1493 and other examples (cf. → Genealogical Chronicles in Anglo-Norman, → Genealogical Chronicles in French and Latin, → Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin).

The immense popularity of the concept and the enormous number of variations testifies to one of the great advantages of diagrammatic chronicles: precisely the lack of a coherent narrative allows for an open, flexible structure that responds to the requirements of each specific situation and to the interest of specific audiences. Though absent from Peter of Poitiers's original concept, some of the later works introduce dates on a time-line and thus put a stronger emphasis on chronology. In the *Fasciculus temporum*, the line of Christ

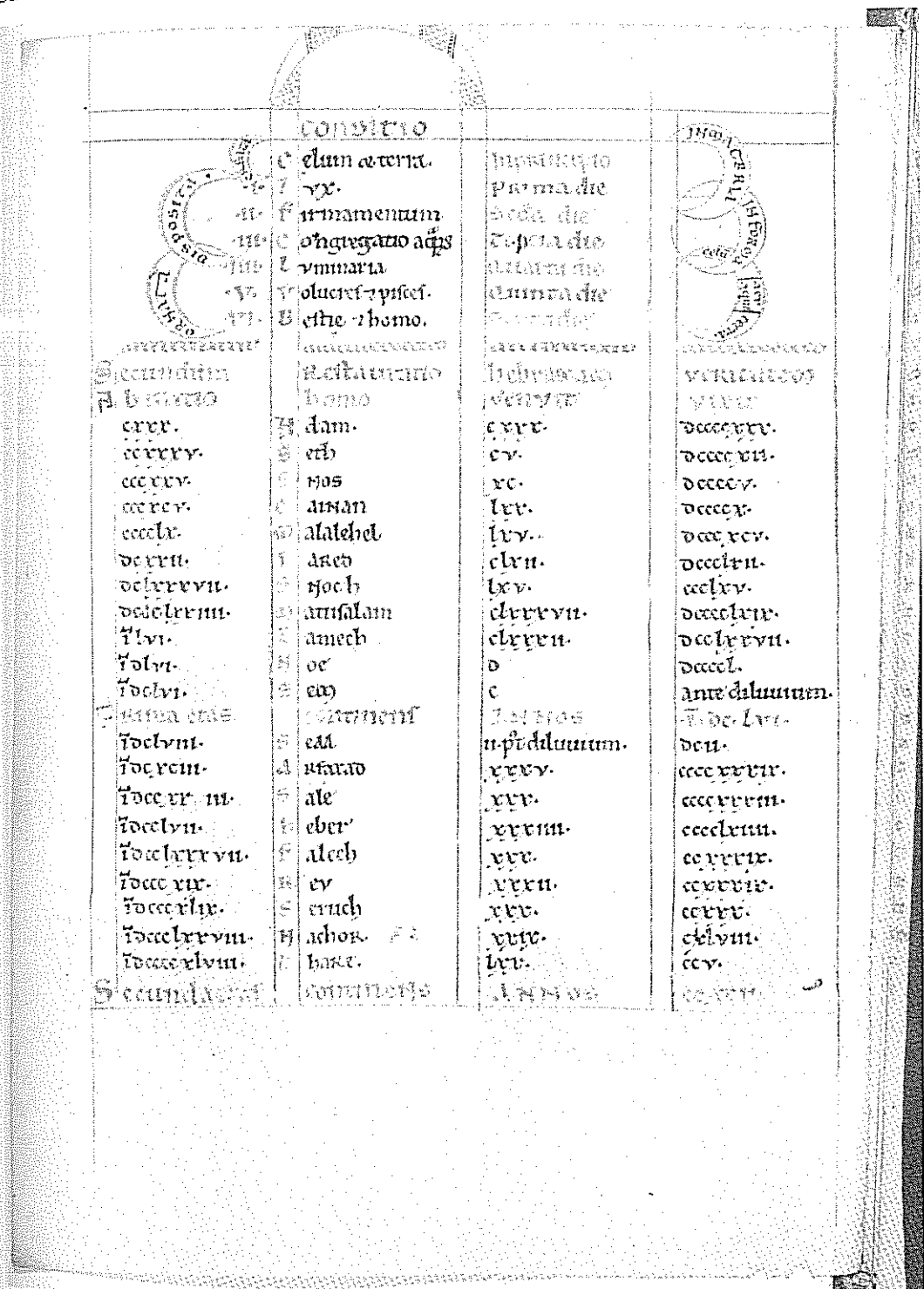


Fig. 14 Hugh of St. Victor, *Chronicon*. France, mid-twelfth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 15009, fol. 3v.

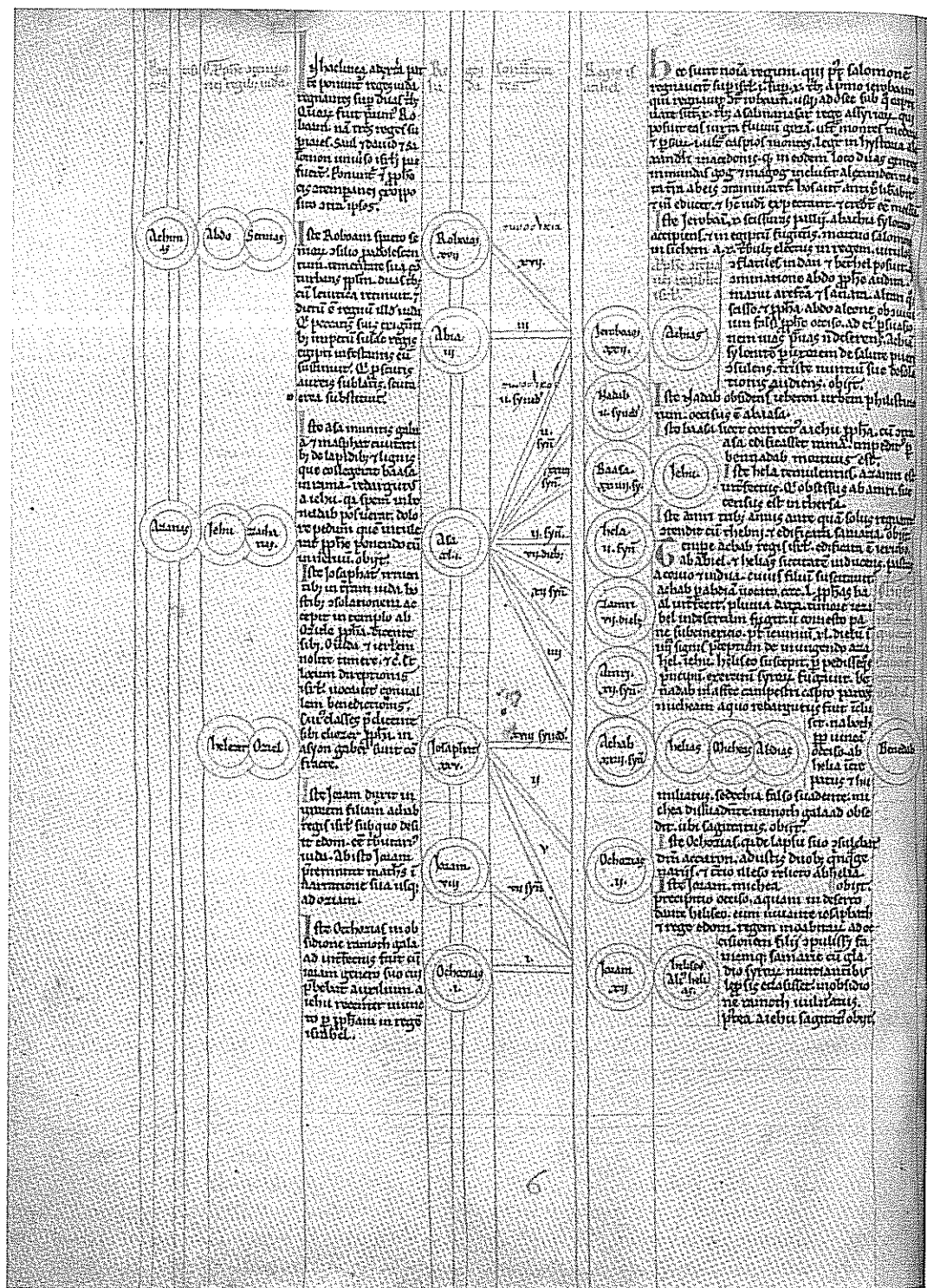


Fig. 15 Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium*, France, late twelfth century. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 29, fol. viii^r.

functions as a chronological axis across the pages in a vertical direction; it is paralleled by two ribbons with dates, which give the years of the world and the years from the incarnation, counting forward and backwards. The *Fasciculus* is not only an example of a very sophisticated way of presenting historical data, but also an early instance of the use of the retrospective incarnation era.

But also the more annalistic concept of Hugh of St. Victor was adapted and refined in the thirteenth century by → Gilbertus Romanus around 1221 and, most importantly, by → Martin of Opava, who in his original concept used a complex layout: on the left page (verso) of an opening, he listed the popes, while on the right (recto) the emperors were coordinated with them. Originally, the two correlating lists were structured by an annalistic table of fifty years to a page, so that as a result, his *Chronicon* in its original format is both, an annalistic table and a genealogical sequence. Martin's concept was enormously influential all over Europe, particularly in Germany (→ *Flores Temporum*), France (Sébastien → Mamerot) and England (→ Martin of Opava, English).

A number of other diagrammatic chronicles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries confirm the importance of diagrammatic tables to memorise history, drawing on and often very interestingly combining earlier concepts.

The *Chronologia magna* by → Paulinus of Venice (1270–1344) uses a complex system of vertical lines and columns, laying out the information on the double page [Fig. 16]. It consists of a large table of biblical and post-biblical rulers, including also the pagan Gods and philosophers, the popes, scholars, writers, saints and all kinds of events, listed under the broad category of *contingentia* (cf. the *incidentia* in Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*), with a great number of portraits and little scenes. The Egyptian, Sassanid and Islamic rulers are of black skin. Also including maps and geographical excursus, the *Chronologia Magna* provides a universal history from the creation of the world to the death of Emperor Henry VII in 1314. Remarkably, the *Chronologia Magna* does not employ the line of Christ's ancestors as the main axis but the *linea regularis* of the leaders and kings of Israel, thus relying more strongly on chronological information from the Old Testament. No separate column is used for the years; the dates are placed directly with the rulers they refer to on that line. The *Chronologia magna* exists in Latin copies (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod.

lat. Z 399; Paris, BnF, lat. 4939; Rome, BAV, vat. lat. 1960), and in an early Provençal translation as *Abbreuiamen de las Estorias* (London, BL, Egerton 1500). The *Chronologia magna* is particularly interesting in its focus on the history of the Crusades (e.g. Peter the Hermit leading the First Crusade, fol. 45^r) and maps of Antioch and Jerusalem (fol. 47^r, 49^r).

In the anonymous English fourteenth-century → *Scala Mundi*, data are represented in a related way [Fig. 17]. The genealogical stemma (in the tradition of Peter of Poitiers) is combined with an annalistic concept—giving 50 lines to a page, just like the original format of Martin of Opava's Pope-Emperor Chronicle. On the right hand side of the verso, the annalistic and computistic data are arranged in columns. For the time before Christ the years are represented in the *anno mundi* system, then the cycles and years of sun and moon; for the Christian era, both, the years of the world and the years from the incarnation of Christ are given as well as the indictions. Next to these columns, the ruling dynasties mentioned in the Bible are arranged in vertical parallel lines (like in Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*), here carefully colour-coded; then, for the post-biblical era, the lines of Popes and Emperors and a synopsis of the ruling dynasties of Europe with a strong emphasis on England are added. However, for the sixth age of the world, the layout changes and the diagram now takes up the whole space of a double page to present the increased amount of information in a great synopsis. Manuscript copies include Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 194; London, College of Arms, Arundel V; Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 83; London, Lambeth Palace, ms. 340; Cambridge, Trinity College, R.12.4.). In all of these manuscripts, the *Scala Mundi* occurs as a fellow traveller with Martin of Opava's *Chronicon*.

5. Co-transmission

The often neglected aspect of co-transmission is of great importance, because it tells how historical knowledge was compiled, represented and ordered. This holds true especially for diagrammatic chronicles since they are usually short works designed to provide an overview of history and seldom "travel alone". Thus, in the manuscript tradition, diagrammatic chronicles often function as visual prefaces to other, more comprehensive

Fig. 16 Paulinus of Venice, *Chronologia magna in provençal, Abbreuiamen de las Estorias*. France, after 1323. London, British Library, Egerton 1500, fol. 6^v-7^r. © The British Library Board.

Diagrammatic chronicle page 530 showing a ladder-like structure of dates and events.

Annus ab initio	Annus incarnationis	Annus solis	Annus lunae	Annus dominice	Annus iudee	Annus pasche	Annus pentecostes	Annus ascensionis	Annus trinitatis	Annus iohannis
v. ccc. li.	.i. c. lxxv.	xii	d	m	m	Non. aprilis				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xiii	e	mi	mi	v. kl. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xiiii	f	a	v	v. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxviii.	xv	g	vi	vi	vi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviiii.	.i. c. lxxviiii.	xvi	h	vii	vii	ix. kl. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xvii	e	viii	viii	vi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xviii	f	viiii	viiii	vii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xix	g	ix	ix	viii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviiii.	.i. c. lxxviiii.	xx	a	x	x	v. id. april.				
v. ccc. lv.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxi	b	xi	xi	vi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxii	c	xii	xii	vii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxiii	d	xiii	xiii	viii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxviii.	xxiiii	e	xiiii	xiiii	ix. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxv	f	xv	xv	x. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxvi	g	xvi	xvi	xi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxvii	a	xvii	xvii	xii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxviii	b	xviii	xviii	xiii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxix	c	xix	xix	xiiii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxx	d	xx	xx	xv. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxi	e	xxi	xxi	xvi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxii	f	xxii	xxii	xvii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxiii	g	xxiii	xxiii	xviii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxiiii	a	xxiiii	xxiiii	xix. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxv	b	xxv	xxv	xx. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxvi	c	xxvi	xxvi	xxi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxvii	d	xxvii	xxvii	xxii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxviii	e	xxviii	xxviii	xxiii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxix	f	xxix	xxix	xxiiii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxx	g	xxx	xxx	xxv. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxi	a	xxxi	xxxi	xxvi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxx	b	xxxx	xxxx	xxvii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxxi	c	xxxxi	xxxxi	xxviii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxii	d	xxxii	xxxii	xxviiii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxiii	e	xxxiii	xxxiii	xxv. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxiiii	f	xxxiiii	xxxiiii	xxvi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxv	g	xxxv	xxxv	xxvii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxvi	a	xxxvi	xxxvi	xxviii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxvii	b	xxxvii	xxxvii	xxviiii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxviii	c	xxxviii	xxxviii	xxv. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxix	d	xxxix	xxxix	xxvi. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxx	e	xxx	xxx	xxvii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxi	f	xxxi	xxxi	xxviii. id. april.				
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxx	g	xxxx	xxxx	xxv. id. april.				

Diagrammatic chronicle page 531 with a ladder structure and historical text.

Annus ab initio	Annus incarnationis	Annus solis	Annus lunae	Annus dominice	Annus iudee	Annus pasche
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxv	f	xv	xv	x. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxvi	g	xvi	xvi	xi. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxvii	a	xvii	xvii	xii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxviii	b	xviii	xviii	xiii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxviiii	c	xix	xix	xiiii. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxx	d	xx	xx	xv. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxi	e	xxi	xxi	xvi. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxii	f	xxii	xxii	xvii. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxiii	g	xxiii	xxiii	xviii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxiiii	a	xxiiii	xxiiii	xix. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxv	b	xxv	xxv	xx. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxvi	c	xxvi	xxvi	xxi. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxvii	d	xxvii	xxvii	xxii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxviii	e	xxviii	xxviii	xxiii. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxix	f	xxix	xxix	xxiiii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxx	g	xxx	xxx	xxv. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxi	a	xxxi	xxxi	xxvi. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxx	b	xxxx	xxxx	xxvii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxxi	c	xxxxi	xxxxi	xxviii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxii	d	xxxii	xxxii	xxv. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxiii	e	xxxiii	xxxiii	xxvi. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxiiii	f	xxxiiii	xxxiiii	xxvii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxv	g	xxxv	xxxv	xxviii. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxvi	a	xxxvi	xxxvi	xxv. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxxvii	b	xxxvii	xxxvii	xxvi. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxviii	c	xxxviii	xxxviii	xxvii. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxix	d	xxxix	xxxix	xxviii. id. april.
v. ccc. lvi.	.i. c. lxxv.	xxx	e	xxx	xxx	xxv. id. april.
v. ccc. lvii.	.i. c. lxxvi.	xxxi	f	xxxi	xxxi	xxvi. id. april.
v. ccc. lviii.	.i. c. lxxvii.	xxxx	g	xxxx	xxxx	xxvii. id. april.

Historical text and illustrations on page 531:

- Castro la thone...**: Narrative text in the left margin.
- Henric...**: Names of kings in circles along the top of the ladder.
- Lucius...**: Name in a circle in the middle of the ladder.
- Henric...**: Name in a circle at the bottom of the ladder.
- Illustrations**:
 - A central illustration of a king (Henric) being crowned.
 - A smaller illustration of two figures below it.
 - Other smaller figures and symbols scattered in the text.

Fig. 17 Scala Mundi. England, mid-fourteenth century. Third age of the world. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 194, fol. 70v-71r.

historical works. The main exceptions are those works written on rolls and the early printed examples of the fifteenth century (Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*, the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, its French adaptation the *Mer des Hystoires*, and Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle*).

6. Impact

As a survey and mnemonic tool, diagrammatic chronicles were enormously popular in the late Middle Ages and remained hugely influential far into the Early Modern period. Their clear layout allows for a lucid representation of dates. Thus, they were of great importance for establishing and representing chronology. Furthermore, the clarity and order of the data and events they present suggests that the history of the world and of humankind is determined and governed by an overall meaningful structure. Though as a device to visualise universal history they went out of fashion alongside the world chronicles, the diagrammatic chronicles of the Middle Ages are the basis and model for any modern historical graph.

See also: → Illustration Cycles, → Layout, → Genealogical rolls and charts.

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ANDREA WORM

Diario d'Anonimo Fiorentino (Diary of an anonymous Florentine)

14th century. Italy. Anonymous Italian vernacular chronicle of Florentine history. The name originates with GHERARDI. The *Diario* covers the period 1080–1389 with a gap between 1342 and 1347. The part ending in 1341 bears the date 19th March 1377. For the period 1080–1278, the chronicler uses the → *Gesta Florentinorum*. He also uses other chronicles, including that of Giovanni → Villani, adding fresh episodes, from oral sources or drawn from family archives, or even bringing in his own experience on Florentine and Tuscan history. While not up to the level of information and analysis of the most important chronicles, the *Diario* brings a more modest, human aspect to the knowledge of this period. The work survives in Florence, BNC, Magliabechianus XXV–19 and Venice, BNM, Lat. VI,270. In Magliabechianus, folios 1^r–3^r are blank, 4^r contains a tailed sonnet, the chronicle starts at 5^r; folios 14^r–16^r are missing. Marciianus lacks the beginning and end (1188–1315).

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COLETTE GROS

Diario Ferrarese dall'anno 1409 sino al 1502

1467–1502. Italy. Written from the perspective of the city of Ferrara in the local dialect of Italian, probably by an official of the Este who was concerned with the supply of victuals. The diary serves no explicit political purpose, but the Este family from Niccolò III to Ercole I with their acts of state and court culture take centre stage; we learn about the first performances of Plautus in Italy, about clothing style and big feasts. The only extant manuscript (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 369) is an early 16th-century compilation created at the duke's chancellery, in which the work (fol. 202^r–360^r) is preceded by the → *Chronicon Estense* (1114–1410) and the *Chronaca nova* by → Iacobus de Delayto and followed by later additions for 1532–53. The text for 1471–73 is taken from → Caleffini's chronicle. Consistency in language and content point to a single author, who might have used older records for the less densely narrated part up to 1467. In 1499 he claims to remember the events of the last 50 years. Reference to his possessions at Fiesso has led scholars to identify him with the *notaro alla biava* Francesco da Fiesso (mentioned at *anno* 1502).

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HARTMUT BEYER

Diarium Vadstenense

[Wazstenense] (Memorial Book of Vadstena)

late 14th–16th century. Sweden. Latin annals of Vadstena Abbey, the motherhouse of the Birgittine Order on Lake Vättern. They cover the period 1344–1545, written concurrently with the events described. Most of the work consists of short notices, but some periods are dealt with in greater detail, notably the years 1463–7, when the annalistic text is transformed into a continuous narrative of political events, dominated by the struggle between Karl Knutsson and the Danish King Christian I. Generally, the authors of the *Diarium*

sympathise with the former and are critical of the union monarchy to which the Abbey earlier had been favourable. The manuscript was later split into two volumes: Uppsala, UB, cod. C 89.

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OLLE FERM

Diaz de Games, Gutierre

ca 1378–post 1448. Castile (Iberia). Author of *El Victorial* (1431/5–48?) in Castilian, a mirror of chivalry and heroic biography of Pero Niño, Count of Buelna, incorporating material from a lost account of the 14th-century Civil War. This work is analogous to biographies written in French like the *Livre des fais de Boucicaud* but is of interest in the history of Spanish historiography because it overlaps with the chronicle tradition proper. One section is based on a rare example of an account of the Civil War purportedly by Pero Niño's own grandfather, a partisan of Pedro I. *El Victorial* relates episodes from Enrique III's and Juan II's reigns, including a naval campaign in the Mediterranean against corsairs and North Africans, for which the author used primary sources apparently shared by Álvaro → García de Santa María in the redaction of his chronicle of Juan II. In this and a later campaign in the English Channel (aiding France against the English), Díaz de Games could also claim first-hand knowledge as Pero Niño's then standard-bearer. He relied on an unidentified *Crónica de los reyes de Ynglaterra* (Chronicle of the Kings of England) for the political origins of Britain; presumably this work formed part of the Brut tradition (See → *Prose Brut*). BELTRÁN has persuasively identified Díaz de Games as a scribe also in the employ of Juan II, commissioned by Pero Niño to write a flattering account of his life, linking his patron to royal history. There are six extant manuscripts, of which Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 9/5112 and Santander, Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, ms. 328 stand out.

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MICHAEL AGNEW

Dietari de la Generalitat de Catalunya

1411–1714. Catalonia (Iberia). Daybook or register of the main events in Barcelona and Catalonia. Written in Catalan by the *escrivà major* (principal notary) of the *Diputació del General* or *Generalitat* (Catalan government), the *Dietari*, or *Manual* as it was originally called, is composed of 109 volumes, preserved in Barcelona, *Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó*. Each volume contains a period of nine years, subdivided in periods of three years. The *Dietari*, whose content is very varied, is a chronicle of the Generalitat, but one enriched with significant news of Catalonia and the world.

The sections written by Jaume Safont (ca 1420–87) cover 1454–72, and it was Safont who transformed the *Dietari* into a true historical chronicle, subsequently imitated by the continuators. In addition to being *escrivà major*, Safont was also a Catalan notary, public official, town chronicler and poet. In the *Dietari* he adopts the pattern of the → *Chronica Rationalis Civitatis* and the → *Manual de Novells Ardits*, and also endows it with personal observations and marginal drawings. He also wrote a personal *Dietari o llibre de jornades* (Report or daybook), also called *Dietari de les torbacions del temps del rei don Joan que en Catalunya foren* (Report of the troubles in time of King John that happened in Catalonia), from 1414 to 1484 (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 978), in which he expresses his opinion on the politics of the time, marked as they were by the outbreak of Catalan Civil War (1462–72).

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DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Dietari del capellà d'Alfons el Magnànim (Daybook of Alphonso the Magnanimous's Chaplain)

ca 1478. Catalonia (Iberia). Universal chronicle in Catalan from the creation of the world until 1478. Authorship of the *Dietari* was attributed by its first editor, JOSEP SANCHIS I SIVERA, to Melcior Miralles (ca 1419–1502), who was chaplain of King Alfonso the Magnanimous (Alfonso V of Aragón and IV of Catalonia; 1416–58). The original title of the work, as recorded in the oldest manuscript, is *Llibre de les canòniques de Espanya e dels actes e fets del temps present* (Book of the chronicles of Spain and of the acts and deeds of the present time) but the title *Dietari* is more usual today.

The *Dietari* recast Hispanic history from a Catalan perspective. The most original section is that dedicated to the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous, enriched with anecdotes and descriptions of the royal court and the city of Valencia. The text survives in one medieval manuscript (Valencia, Seminari del Corpus Christi, V/24) and two 18th-century copies (Valencia, Biblioteca General i Històrica de la Universitat, 160 & 204). One of the 18th-century copies (Valencia, 160, written in 1743), which bears the slightly different title *Dietari de varies coses succeïdes en lo reino de València i en altres* (Daybook of various occurrences in the Kingdom of Valencia and in others), adds annotations up to 1588.

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DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Dietrich of Nieheim [of Niem; Theodericus de Nyem]

ca 1340–1418. Germany. Learned canon lawyer, *notarius sacri palatii* at Avignon (1370), *scriptor et abbreviator* of the papal chambers at Rome, Canon at St. Servatius in Maastricht. Author of many works, including *De scismate libri tres*; *Gesta Karoli Magni*; *Viridarium imperatorum et regum Romanorum*; *Cronica*; *Historie de gestis Romanorum principum*.

Dietrich's activities for several popes (at Avignon, during the Great Schism at Rome, then for the Pisan elects) as well as his attendance at the Council at Konstanz provided the background for his literary work, of which the historical texts form only part. All his life, he searched for and collected historical evidence: letters, legal documents, accounts of past events (from Charlemagne to the 14th century, mostly German and crusade-related) and prophetic texts (especially Hildegard of Bingen), and not least anecdotes and colourful stories. He used the material to analyze the status of the world and counsel the powerful in his chronistic writings as well as in his tracts on political theory, all in prose with occasional rhymes. His *Viridarium imperatorum et regum Romanorum* (1411, Vienna, ÖNB, 496) uses historiographical elements, but not in chronological order, thus forming a text very much on the edge of the chronistic genre.

His topics are well known from other texts on the reform of church and the world: he calls for an end of the catholic schism and that with the Eastern church(es) as well as for a clear separation between temporal and spiritual power. He deplores the weak status of the Catholic Church on earth, even in a Europe besieged by Tartars and Turks, while the Holy Land remains lost. Above all this he finds signs of Antichrist rising everywhere. His most important focus is the improvement of the empire: in his last and most capacious work, *Historie de gestis Romanorum principum*, written at Konstanz in 1415, (El Escorial, RMsL, P.III.25; Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare, cod.45.4), he addresses the Roman and Hungarian king Sigismund as Aristotle once talked to Alexander the Great—here as in all his writings putting together historical evidence in form of a *speculum principis*.

The manuscript tradition of Dietrich's work is complicated because he continuously collected material. Some passages of his texts consist more

of sequences of source material than of his own wording. He took over long passages of his sources and reused chunks of his own writing from earlier texts in later ones. Also he continued collecting while arranging his material into a text, thereby adding an additional layer of excerpts or *glossae*. His mostly compilatory manuscripts were then copied, his works becoming amalgamated with further material collections in the subsequent tradition.

The *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris* (1398/99; Vienna, ÖNB, 11794 (Theol. 888); Darmstadt, UB & LB, 231; Leiden, UB, VUL. 92 G: 4) have two parts, of which the first is a literal copy of → Pseudo-Turpin; the *Cronica* (1413/14; Berlin, SB, lat.quarto 312 und 925; Vienna, ÖNB, 5069; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Guelf. 367 Helmst) is especially rich in Dietrich's own glossae. While Dietrich collected the imperial history up to 1313 for his several works, he related events of his own lifetime in *De scismate* (1409/10, continued to 1415; Erfurt/Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, ms. Chart. A 22) organised according to the Roman and Pisan popes of the scism (I: Urban VI, II: Boniface IX and Innocent VII, III: Gregory XII up to the death of Alexander V) but again in view of eternity, since Antichrist seemed close.

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FELICITAS SCHMIEDER

Dieulacres chronicle 1337–1403 [Chronicon monasterii Dieulacrensis]

14th century. England. Chronicle written at the Cistercian Abbey of Dieulacres in Staffordshire, surviving in London, Gray's Inn, ms. 9, fol. 129–47. It has three parts: 1) a description of England drawn from → Bede, → Higden, and → Gerald of Wales; 2) a history of the earls of Chester and of Dieulacres Abbey, originally written in the 13th

century; 3) an annalistic history of England from 1337–1403, written by one monk until 1400, with a continuation by another to 1403. GALBRAITH and CLARKE describe it as a “composite product of two writers of strongly opposed views”.

The part from 1337 to 1400 was written by a monk to whom GIVEN-WILSON refers as “that most Ricardian of English commentators”, but the continuation to 1403 by one who favoured Henry IV. The continuator says that much in the account that preceded his work is untrue: *et hoc scio pro certo, quia in multis locis interfui et vidi* (And I know this for certain, because many times I was present and saw). The chronicle is important for the first author’s account of the deposition of the “innocent” king, which he seems to have based upon personal accounts, and for the second author’s positive account of the early years of Henry IV’s reign and his overcoming the opposition of Henry Percy (Hotspur). The early part of the history is not considered to be of much value, and the edition covers only the years 1381–1403.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Diksmuide, Jan van

[Dixmude]

15th century. Low Countries. Traditionally cited as the author of a *Cronike van Vlaenderen*, a Flemish adaptation of the C version of the → *Flandria generosa* and the → *Chronique de Flandre* [du XIV^e siècle], covering 580 to 1440, with a continuation to 1467.

On the basis of ownership marks in his manuscript, the first editor claimed its author was Jan van Diksmuide, a regular canon of St Martin’s Cathedral in Ypres, contemporary and possibly distant relative of → Olivier van Diksmuide. The same editor gave the text the authentic-sounding title *Dits de cronike ende genealogie van den prinzen ende graven van den foreeste van Buc, dat heet Vlaenderlant, van 836 tot 1436*, but it is usually

known simply as *Diksmuide’s chronicle*. The attribution, however, cannot be maintained.

For the part based on the *Flandria Generosa*, the chronicle is annalistic and concise, presenting an abbreviated version of its Latin source. It is initially organized by the succession of counts of Flanders, and from the early 14th century by dating *anno domini*. It includes substantial accounts of the third and fourth crusades and of the Sack of Constantinople. The later part of the chronicle is increasingly detailed, and for a large part devoted to conflicts between Bruges and Ghent, with some recognizable bias in favour of the latter, blaming count Louis of Male for partiality in favour of the former on account of the proximity of his town of birth.

The chronicle was continued in various versions up to 1468, 1476, 1489 and 1504. It quickly became popular, and remained so throughout the next hundred years, with four extant manuscripts from before 1500 (Brussels, KBR, 19562 & 21880; Ghent, UB, 433 & 590) and a further six from the following century. It was not printed before the 19th century, but it was used as a source by the author of the → *Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen*.

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SJOERD LEVELT

Diksmuide, Olivier van

d. 1459. Low Countries. A member of the town magistracy of Ypres from 1423 to 1450, to whom a chronicle was attributed in the 19th century. It has long been perceived as a chronicle of Flanders and Brabant, but recent research shows it is in fact a town chronicle of Ypres from 1377 to 1443. It is representative of a tradition of contemporary recording of current events in Ypres, and has a continuation, attributed to Pieter van

de Letuwe, in the *Vernieuwing der wet van Ypre* (Renewal of the magistracy of Ypres), covering the years 1443–80. Similar traditions existed in other towns and cities in Flanders, such as Ghent and Valenciennes. Olivier was not the chronicle’s only author, and other probable authors for parts of the chronicle, including some short annalistic notes about the 14th century, are Joris de Rijke and Joost Bryde. The chronicle was completed in the late 15th century, using an older chronicle for the period before 1420. It supports the autonomy of the municipality against the Dukes of Burgundy, and against other regional powers such as the city of Ghent. The autograph was destroyed in WWI, but there is a 19th-century manuscript (Kortrijk, StB, 303 (olim XI, 8)).

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SJOERD LEVELT

al-Dīnawarī

[Abūanīfa ‘Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī]

d. 281/90 AH (894/902 AD). Persia. Al-Dīnawarī lived in Dinavar, at the time an important town in Jibal, ancient Media (modern Iran). Of twenty titles attributed to al-Dīnawarī, only one for certain was a historical work which has survived complete, entitled *al-Akhbar al-Tiwal* (The Book of Lengthy Accounts). In his own time, Al-Dīnawarī was not known as a historian, even less as an astronomer-mathematician, but rather as a botanist or philologist.

The chronicle *al-Akhbar al-Tiwal* is a universal history, concisely written from an Iranian perspective but with the literary intent of entertaining the reader. Al-Dīnawarī rejected the cumbersome use of *isnāds* or chains of authority attached to each report in order that his narrative should

read smoothly. Its universal character is shown by the commencement with God’s creation and Adam down to just before the author’s own day. The Iranian viewpoint is clear from the mythological account of the Persian kings and lengthy treatment of Sassanian rule. His interest in the Muslim Caliphs is most evident when their reigns touch upon the conquest of or affairs in Iran. The striking six-line account of the Prophet Muhammad is placed in the parallel context of the lives of contemporary Persian kings. Al-Dīnawarī’s precise religious sympathies, apart from a Shiite Imami tendency, cannot be determined. The text survives in Leiden, UB, Or. 2595 and Or. 4993.

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DAVID WAINES

HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Dionysius Exiguus

ca 470–mid-540s. Scythia (present day Dobruja, Romania). A monk and friend of → Cassiodorus, Dionysius came to Rome ca 500 AD. The epithet *exiguus*, “puny”, is merely an expression of humility. Dionysius acquired a reputation as translator of hagiographical and theological works from Greek into Latin, pioneered the compilation of canonical and decretal texts, and, as an Easter computist, introduced the Alexandrian Easter calculation adopted by the Greek church at the Council of Nicaea in 325 to the west. He was the first to count years from the birth of Christ (25 December 753 *ab urbe condita*) and can thus be considered the founder of Christian time reckoning, though the wider use of his system and of the epithet AD (*Anno Domini*) for years falling in the “Christian Era” was not adopted until several centuries later, at the Synod of Whitby (664 AD) and in → Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (eighth century). Dionysius was also influential in the area of Canon Law. His emphasis on papal decretals alongside conciliar canons contributed to the strengthening of the Papacy in the medieval west.

Due to his influence his work is widely transmitted, with some very old manuscripts, such as Cologne, Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 212 (late sixth century; southern Gaul) containing some of

his works, although the best witness of his earliest recension is Vatican, BAV, pal. lat. 577 (ca 800). W.M. PEITZ's theory that his compilation is the source of all western canonical collections has been rejected, however. The transmission of his computational work is closely interwoven with that of Bede (cf. JONES; GÓMEZ PALLARÈS). Famous old witnesses include Cologne, Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 83 II (ca 800) fols. 181^v-184^r (*Libellus de cyclo*) and London, BL, Cotton Caligula A XV (eighth century) fols. 73^r-77^r (*Argumenta paschalia*), though again, previous editors considered Vatican, BAV, reg. lat. 755 (tenth century) (KRUSCH) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63 (ninth century) (JAN) the best manuscripts. The *editio princeps* of the computational work was produced by JOHANN WILHELM JAN (Wittenberg, 1718), and this was reproduced in the *Patrologia* by MIGNÉ.

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JOSEF LÖSSL

Dionysius of Halicarnassus

1st century BC. Anatolia, Italy. Born ca 60 BC in Halicarnassus (now Bodrum, Turkey), Dionysius worked from ca 30 to 7 BC in Rome as a rhetor and historian. His Greek-language Roman History (*Ρωμαϊκή ἀρχαιολογία*, *Antiquitates Romanae*) in 20 books covered events from the founding of the city to the First Punic War (264 BC).

Only Books 1-10 are fully extant, Book 11 with gaps. Books 12-20 remain only in fragments, excerpts by the 10th-century Byzantine historian → Konstantinos (Constantine) Porphyrogenitus and in an epitome in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Q 13 sup. (16th century). Important manuscripts include Vatican, BAV, chig. gr. R VIII 60 (10th century) and urb. gr. 105 (10th/11th century) for Books 1-10, and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 159 sup. (15th century) and Florence, BML, Laur. 20,5 (15th century) for Book 11.

The *editio princeps* of Books 1-10 was published by Robert Étienne in Paris 1546. In 1586 Étienne's pupil Friedrich Sylburg published the widely praised *editio princeps* of all Dionysius' extant works in Hanau. Influential during the Renaissance and in the early modern period as historiographer and source for early Rome, Dionysius was less well regarded by 19th and early 20th-century historians. His role as a rhetor and his contribution to the question of the origins of the Etruscans however are still discussed today.

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JOSEF LÖSSL

Dionysius of Tel Mahre [Dionysius Telmaharensis]

9th century. Syria. The Patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church from 818 to 845, he composed

a lost Syriac history from 582 to 842. Dionysius was a renowned scholar and politically influential. He wrote a History in two parts, eight books of church history and eight books of secular history. Although his work has almost entirely been lost, but for one folio (Vatican, BAV, vat. syr. 144), fragments can be found in the Chronicle of → Michael the Great and the Anonymus → *Chronicle of 1234*. Although Dionysius announced he would only cover the period between 582 and 842, there have been fragments found on earlier events. He was an original historian, who reorganised the genre within Syriac literature, in particular distinguishing between church histories and chronicles. One aim of his work may have been to explain the Arab conquest as ordered by God and beneficial to the Christians in the Near East. He also highlights some cultural characteristics as distinctive to the Syrian Christians. His most notable source was a lost history of Theophilus of Edessa, a Chalcedonian, whose work also was used in the Byzantine tradition. He also used unknown Arabic sources.

For Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel Mahre see → *Zuquin Chronicle*.

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JAN VAN GINKEL
MEREDITH RIEDEL

Długosz, Jan

1415-80. Poland. Author of the *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. Długosz was born in Stara Brzeźnica, near Pajęczno. He studied at the University of Kraków in 1428-31, and for the next 25 years (1431-55) he served at the court of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Kraków, working there as a notary, secretary, and chief of his chancellery. Around 1440, he compiled an exhaustive inventory, no longer extant, of the huge estate of

the Kraków bishop. This work involved extensive archival search. In the 1460s and '70s, on behalf of the King of Poland, Casimir the Jagiellonian, he took part in diplomatic negotiations with the Teutonic Order, Bohemia and Hungary. In 1473-76 he was tutor to Casimir's sons. Długosz made many journeys abroad, *inter alia* to Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, and Jerusalem, during which he became acquainted with the cultural currents of his times. He also founded churches (in Chotel Czerwony, Szczepanów-Brzesko) and monasteries (Canons Regular in Kłobuck, Pauline monks at Skalka in Kraków), houses for vicars capitular (Sandomierz, Wiślica) and university halls of the residence in Kraków. He was appointed Archbishop of Lviv in the Ukraine in 1479, but died in Kraków the following year.

The *Annales* was written in 1455-80, mostly in Kraków. It is a national chronicle describing the history of Poland from legendary times up to 1480, the year of Długosz's death. The history of Poland is presented against the background of relations with and events in the neighboring nations and countries (Prussia, Lithuania, Ruthenia, Bohemia, Hungary, Moldavia and Wallachia), as well as the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy. At the beginning of the work Długosz included his geographical treatise *Chorographia Regni Poloniae*. He compiled his materials in two parallel chronological sequences: from legendary history up to 1405, and new history from 1406 on. The work is arranged on a year-by-year basis and divided into 12 books, each year forming a separate chapter. It is one of the most extensive late medieval chronicles and was dedicated to Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Długosz's longtime patron.

Unlike earlier medieval chroniclers, who used the scanty written sources which happened to be available, Długosz made vast collections of historical material, with which he was acquainted while serving at the court of Zbigniew Oleśnicki and during his journeys and diplomatic negotiations. Hence, his chronicle is based on a great number of sources. Długosz used many Polish and foreign chronicles, official documents and oral stories. The description of the times he lived in were based on a rich collection of historical materials gathered in the royal chancellery and his personal observation as an eyewitness to and participant in many events.

Długosz represented a pragmatic trend in the historiography of his time. He was convinced of its high moral and educational value, through which

it was possible to mould ethical attitudes. The chronicle arose on the initiative and encouragement of Zbigniew Oleśnicki. In his presentation of many problems related to Church and State, Długosz expressed the opinions of his patron. One of the features of the chronicle is the author's ardent patriotism: he sought arguments for the defense of Polish *raison d'état* in the knowledge of the past.

Długosz's technique of writing produced many errors, omissions and repetitions of information. The author revised the text many times, constantly supplementing and expanding the manuscript with new information, utilizing newly discovered sources. Traces of this method of the author's work are seen in the partially extant autograph of the chronicle in the form of interlinear and marginal notes. It contains three or four versions of the text.

The chronicle has a rich manuscript tradition consisting of over 60 manuscripts of varying completeness dating from the 15th to the early 18th century. The part of the chronicles covering the period up to 1405 is extant in autograph in Kraków, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, ms. 1306. The chronicles for 1406–80 are known in numerous copies, the most important being the Świętokrzyski manuscript (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. II 8053) and Kórnik, PAN, ms. 197–198. In 1615 the first six books of the work appeared in Dobromyl (Ukraine); however, a ban by King Sigismund III Vasa prevented the publication of the next six books. The first complete edition (2 volumes) appeared in Leipzig in 1711–12.

Długosz also composed several other books: an economic inventory (*Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*), biographical items (catalogues of bishops of six dioceses: Kraków, Wrocław, Poznań, Włocławek, Gniezno, and Płock), hagiography (*Vita S. Stanislai* and *Vita S. Cunegundis*) and heraldic works (*Insignia seu clenodia regni Poloniae* and *Banderia Prutenorum*).

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PIOTR DYMMEŁ

Do fhlaithusaib Hérenn (Concerning the sovereignties of Ireland)

11th–12th century. Ireland. A tract in Middle Irish which is appended to the various recensions of the *Lebor gabála Érenn* (The book of invasions of Ireland). The title is only found in *Lebor gabála* recension *a* (redaction I), which recounts Ireland's history from the time of Noah until the final invasion by the sons of Míl, from whom all the Irish royal dynasties claim to descend.

Do fhlaithusaib Érenn is a list of about 150 kings of Ireland, from Éremón son of Míl until the historical kings of the 12th century, with brief descriptions of their reigns and a few longer digressions. Until the reign of king Lóegaire, the list in recension *a* depends strongly on *Ériu ard, inis na rí* by Gilla Coemáin (fl. 1072). This poem recounts the Irish kings up to the time of Patrick and the coming of Christianity in the 5th century. From Lóegaire onwards, the brief descriptions in the list are usually culled from annalistic material. The version of *Do fhlaithusaib Érenn* in *Lebor gabála* recension *b* (redaction II) reflects a list which was not yet influenced by Gilla Coemáin's poem. *Do fhlaithusaib Érenn*, regnal lists and synchronistic tracts ultimately derive from the

Irish annals for their chronological structure and sequence of events, but have reinterpreted this information and have reduced events from world-history to a minimum.

The manuscripts include: Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 1339 (H.2.18), known as the *Book of Leinster* (recension *a*); Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, ms. 535 (23 P 2), the *Book of Lecan* (recensions *m* and *b*); Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, ms. 536 (23 P 12), the *Book of Ballymote* (recension *c*).

In older scholarship, *Do fhlaithusaib Érenn* is sometimes found under the title *Annals from the Book of Leinster*. This is slightly misleading as it references only one manuscript rather than the whole tradition. It also invites confusion with the → *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib*, which is transmitted in the same manuscript.

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BART JASKI

Dolfin, Pietro

1427–1506. Italy. Venetian merchant, politician, and author of *Annali Veneti* (Venetian Annals), a political history of Venice from its origins to 1506 written in Italian. Born in Venice, son of the statesman and historian Zorzi → Dolfin, whose chronicle he continued, Pietro was admitted to the Maggior Consiglio at the age of eighteen in September 1445. He assumed several public offices in Venice: as officer on the armed galleys to Alexandria in 1450, as official at the Messeteria in 1452, and lawyer in the court system at the Ducal Palace. After the death of his father in ca 1458, he concentrated on family commercial ventures in the Levant, serving for a time on the ducal council of Crete.

In preparation of the compositions of his *Annali Veneti* (Venetian Annals), begun in 1487, Pietro studied and sometimes transcribed a number of other chronicles, including those of Andrea → Dandolo, Raffaino → Caresini, Antonio → Morosini, and Matteo → Palmieri. He divided his history of Venice into four parts. Part 1 traced Venice's history from its origins in 454 to

1423. Part 2, covering the dogeship of Francesco Foscari (1423–57), relied heavily on his father's unpublished chronicle. Part 3 is the the *Annali Veneti 1457–1500* which by a misreading the 16th-century editor Francesco Longo was long misattributed to Domenico Malipiero (1428–1515) until it was identified by NEERFELD. Longo rearranged the text of this section, which like the rest of Dolfin's annals was originally in chronological order, ordering it thematically into five subjects. In this re-arrangement it was published under Malipiero's name by SAGREDO. Only the beginning of Part 4, a detailed account of political life in Venice from 1500 to 1506, has seen a modern critical edition.

Parts 1 and 4 survive as autographs: London, BL, Royal ms. 149 & Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, F II 2 respectively; the rest of the manuscripts are late and fragmentary. Dolfin's *Annali* from 1423 to 1504 are the major contemporary source for the study of Venetian politics in the Quattrocento, and were used extensively by Marin → Sanudo il Giovane for his *Vite dei Dogi* and early portions of his diary.

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BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Dolfin, Zorzi [Giorgio]

1396–ca 1458. Italy. Venetian diplomat and office-holder, who wrote a history of Venice that provides the most detailed account of the city under the rule of Doge Francesco Foscari (1427–57). His *Cronica de la nobel cita de Venetia e de la sua provintia et de destretto* (Chronicle of the noble city of Venice, of its province and

of its district) is a typical vernacular chronicle of Venice, beginning with the passion of Christ and largely derivative of other authors, in this case Antonio → Morosini, down to the early Quattrocento. For events the author's maturity, the narrative takes on the character of a personal journal, and is especially valuable for providing insights into the motivation and character of major Venetian statesmen, most of all Doge Foscari himself, and details about the conquest of Constantinople, the troubles surrounding the trial of Jacopo Foscari and the deposition of the Doge. It was the major source for Marin → Sanudo's account of Foscari's dogeship in his *Vite dei Dogi*. His *Cronica* was edited and augmented by his son, Pietro → Dolfin, with extensions to 1530, in its principal manuscript: Venice, BNM, Ital. VII,794 (8503).

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BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Domènec, Jaume

14th century. Catalonia (Iberia). A Dominican, Domènec was master of the order in Provence, then provincial of Aragon (1363–7) and inquisitor general in the kingdom of Mallorca. He was closely tied to the court of Pere IV of Aragon and tutor to Joan I. In 1360 Peter IV commissioned him to write a universal history which the king intended would complement the history of his own reign. This work, known as the *Compendi*

historial, was an adaptation in Catalan of the *Speculum historiale* of → Vincent of Beauvais. It is conserved in Paris, BnF, esp. 122. Only the first four parts of the work, to the year 626, were written, and the first part is now lost. After Domènec's death in 1386, the work was continued by Brother Antoni Ginebra. Domènec's other notable work includes the *Genealogia regum Navarrae et Aragoniae et comitum Barchinonae* and a continuation of a *Genealogia regum francorum*.

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DAMIAN SMITH

Dominican chronicle tradition

1. The Order of Preachers; 2. Dominican chronicles of the thirteenth century;
3. Dominican chronicles of the fourteenth century;
4. Dominican chronicles of the fifteenth century;
5. Dominican chronicles by women

1. The Order of Preachers

Founded in the years around 1215, the Dominicans were originally and most correctly known as the Order of Preachers (OP = *Ordo Praedicatorum*). In England they were often referred to as Black Friars, in France as Jacobins. Like the Franciscans, from whom to some extent they drew inspiration, the Dominicans were a mendicant order, but their focus on preaching made them an altogether more aggressive force. Founded by the Spaniard Dominic of Calaruega (Dominic of Osma, Dominic de Guzmán, ca 1170–1221), their origins lay in the Albigensian controversy, which had lasting implications for their understanding of their mission. Dominic had hoped to win the Albigensians back to Catholic orthodoxy by reason and persuasion, and intended his new order to produce gifted preachers against schism, heresy and paganism. This led the Dominicans to be highly intellectual in their aspirations, in order to be armed for disputations against all kinds of deviancy.

Like the Franciscans, they drew a large proportion of their neophytes from the cities, but with the difference that their recruitment targeted exclusively well-educated people from the

higher burgher classes. Many Dominicans had a university education and the Order produced great scholars, foremost among them that formidable polymath Albertus Magnus (1193–1280), an authority on everything from Biblical exegesis to zoology, and his pupil, the most gifted systematic theologian of the late Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas (1224–74). The darker side of the Order's early history was its advocacy of the forceful suppression of deviancy; Dominicans were heavily employed as inquisitors, an activity which also was born out of the Albigensian controversy, and in later centuries such figures as the Dominican Jakob Sprenger (1435–95) were associated with the apologetics of witch-hunting. On the other hand, one strand within the Order, associated with the figure of Meister Eckhart (ca 1260–ca 1328), was instrumental in the development of late medieval mysticism, a movement consistent with creative intellectualism, but viewed by parts of the Church hierarchy as heretical.

Despite their erudition, over the first three centuries of the Order's existence their output of historical writing only marginally exceeded that of the Franciscans. This encyclopedia includes entries on around 60 chronicles written by Dominicans, though some of these are hypothetical ascriptions. About a third of these originated in the German-speaking lands, and about a fifth in each of France and Italy. Broken down into centuries, we find that around a third of the Dominican chronicles before 1500 were written in the thirteenth century, with an increase in the fourteenth century and a significant drop in the fifteenth—interestingly, the same pattern as with the Franciscans, where the peak in the fourteenth century is even more pronounced.

2. Dominican chronicles of the thirteenth century

The Dominican chronicle tradition begins in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and from the very beginning is marked by big names and ambitious projects. As early as 1235 in Northern France, → Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) began the encyclopaedic *Speculum maius*, which includes as its third part a universal *Speculum historiale* which was to prove vastly influential with chroniclers throughout the continent from the second half of the century onwards. By the middle of the century two other French Dominicans were also working on world chronicles, → John of Mailly

(d. ca 1260) and → Gerald Frachet (1205–71), and by 1268, the Bohemian Dominican → Martin of Opava (d. 1278/79) had produced the first version of his seminal *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, which set the standard for imperial and papal history for the following three hundred years. Meanwhile in Italy, the *Legenda aurea* of → Jacob of Voragine (ca 1228/29–1298), which was to become a principal source of hagiography for later chroniclers, was written in the years 1262–72. Thus within sixty years of their foundation, the Dominicans had produced a series of key handbooks which were to dominate European historical writing until well into the Early Modern period.

In the same years, the first beginnings of Dominican order history are to be observed. The earliest account of the Order's origins was by → Jordan of Saxony (died 1237), who succeeded Dominic as master general of the Order in 1222. His *Libellus de initiis Ordinis Praedicatorum* focusses both on the founder and on the early community. He is followed by a group of others, including again Gerald Frachet (*Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 1254), the Spaniard Petrus → Ferrandi (d. 1250s), whose *Legenda sancti Dominici* was long attributed to Gerald, the annals of the houses at Erfurt (→ *Annales Erphordenses Fratrum Praedicatorum*, post-1253) and Vienna (→ *Annales Praedicatorum Vindobonensium*, post-1283), and → Bernard Gui (ca 1261–1331), whose *De Quatuor dotibus quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit* was begun in 1278. In Southern France, Guillaume → Pelhsson (d. 1268) wrote what was effectively an inquisition chronicle, relating his own actions and those of other champions of orthodoxy in the thirty years after the fall of the Albigensians.

More general histories by Dominicans were fewer in number in the thirteenth century. An interesting example because of its assumed agenda, though the ascription is uncertain, is the → *De ortu principum Thuringiae*, which on one view was written by Erfurt Dominicans around 1234/35 to provide information for the planning of a further expansion of the Order in Eastern Germany. In England, the → *Gesta regum Britannie* (ca 1235–54) may have been written by the Dominican William of Rennes, and the twelfth-century → *Geste des Engleis en Irlande* may have been rewritten around 1230 by the Dominicans of Waterford. In France, → Adam of Clermont (fl. 1270) wrote abridgements of Vincent of Beauvais, and → Andreas of Hungary (fl. 1280s), a Dominican

operating in France in the service of the Hungarian court, wrote a history of the conquest of Naples. Two thirteenth-century town chronicles were written by Dominicans, one of Milan by → Stefanardo da Vimercate (ca 1230–98) in 1277, the other of Genoa by Jacob of Voragine in 1295–98. There was also a strong tradition of Dominican biographical writing, of which the Pole → Vincent of Kielcza (ca 1200–70) may stand as an example.

3. Dominican chronicles of the fourteenth century

In the fourteenth century, the tradition of Dominican historians strengthened; there were no more figures of the stature of Vincent of Beauvais, Jacob of Voragine and Martin of Opava, but the quantity of writing increased steadily. In the first half of the century we find many Dominicans writing in Italy and France. One of the most important is → Ptolemy of Lucca (ca 1240–1327), who began writing in 1303 and produced *Annales*, a *Historia ecclesiastica nova* and a lost *Historia tripartita*. → Nicholas of Ligny (d. 1316), a Frenchman travelling in Italy, wrote a history of the Emperor Henry VII in support of Imperial as opposed to Papal claims in Italy. Francesco → Pipino (ca 1270–ca 1328) in Bologna wrote a chronicle focussed on the reigns of emperors. Giovanni → Colonna (d. 1343–4) wrote a universal chronicle and a history of illustrious men. The → *Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI de Valois* (1320s) and the → *Chronicon Cado-mensis anonymi* (after 1343) are both Dominican world chronicles from France. In Alsace, the → *Chronicon Colmariense* (1300–14) was written by two Colmar Dominicans, the first the so-called "Colmarer Dominikanerchronist", while in Lorraine, → John of Bayon (late 1420s) wrote a history of the Abbey of Moyennoutier. Although Dominic himself was Castilian, relatively few Dominican historians of the Middle Ages were Spanish. One of these was Pere → Marsili (d. before 1327), who translated the *Llibre dels feits of King* → Jaume I of Aragon from Catalan into Latin. Nicholas → Trevet (ca 1257/65–1334) is the best-known Dominican chronicler from England; his *Annales Sex Regum Angliae* was composed in the early 1320s. In Ireland, John de → Pembridge (fl. 1340s) worked on a history of Ireland. The → Anonymus Leobensis, probably Conrad of Leoben of the Dominican house in Vienna, wrote

a papal and imperial chronicle around 1345. And the → *Descriptio Europae Orientalis* (1308) was probably also written by a Dominican who had travelled in the Balkans.

The second half of the fourteenth century was less productive than the first half, but one important Italian work recorded the history of the influential Dominican establishment at Pisa, → *Chronica antiqua conventus S. Catharinae de Pisis*, begun around 1350 by Domenico da Pecioli (ca 1320–1408) and continued to 1410 by Simone da Cascina (d. 1420). The Catalan inquisitor general Jaume → Domènec (d. 1386) wrote an adaptation of Vincent of Beauvais, and another Catalan, → Pere d'Arenys (1349–1419) wrote a chronicle focussed on Church schisms. In England, the fourteenth-century continuation of the → *Chronica pontificum ecclesiae Eboracensis* has been ascribed to the Dominican Thomas Stubbs (d. 1381). Two Germans within the Order wrote world chronicles: → Henry of Herford (ca 1300–70) and → Konrad of Halberstadt the Younger (fl. 1340–55). → Hermann of Lerbeck (ca 1350–post 1403) was the author of a chronicle of the Bishops of Minden (before 1380) and a family chronicle of the Dukes of Schaumburg (1400–03); in the service of his order he also composed ecclesiastical chronicles of Minden. And at the very end of the century, the → *Chronica Thuringorum* (1395/98) was composed at the Eisenach priory.

4. Dominican chronicles of the fifteenth century

In the Dominican historiography of the fifteenth century, the German-speaking world took centre-stage. → Jacob of Soest (ca 1360–after 1438) continued Henry of Herford and has been named as the author of a series of other chronicles, though these ascriptions are uncertain. Hermann → Korner (1365–1458) first composed his *Chronica novella*, a chronicle from the foundation of Rome with a particular focus on the town of Lübeck, in 1420, then revised it in ever new versions in both Latin and German. It is possible that Johann → Statwech (fl. 1440s), author of world chronicles in Low German verse and prose, was a Dominican. Johannes → Nederhoff (pre-1400–post-1456) wrote a chronicle of Dortmund. The Swiss Felix → Fabri (ca 1440–1502) wrote a history of Swabia and Ulm, and Johannes → Meyer (1422–85), also Swiss, wrote the history of the Dominican nunnery in Schönensteinbach.

In German-speaking Prussia (now Poland), Johannes → Lindau (1420/30–1480/83) recorded the history of the Thirteen Years' War, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century Simon → Grunau (ca 1470–1530/37) wrote a vast history of Prussia.

There is also an important group of fifteenth-century Italian chronicles by Dominicans. → Antoninus of Florence (1389–1459) wrote an influential world chronicle. Filippo → Barbieri of Syracuse (ca 1426–87) wrote no less than three historical works, the most important being a chronicle of Popes and Emperors. → Leonard of Chios (ca 1395–1459), a Greek diplomat partly active in Italy, wrote an eyewitness account on the fall of Constantinople. Italian humanist Pietro → Ransanus (1428–92), one of a number of Italian chroniclers who lived and worked in Hungary, wrote both world history and national history. Inquisitor general Girolamo → Albertucci de' Borselli (1432–97) wrote a town chronicle of Bologna and a chronicle of his order, and → Giovanni di Carlo dei Berlinghieri (1428–1503) a history of his own times, focussing on the rule in Florence of his fellow Dominican Savonarola, of whom he strongly disapproved. Here it might be mentioned that Savonarola's reign of terror also inspired chroniclers by other contemporaries who were not of the order, among them Luca → Landucci and Simone → Filipepi.

5. Dominican chronicles by women

A small number of Dominican writings were the work of women. These are almost exclusively pious works concerned with the events within the author's own convent. Most of them originate in fourteenth-century Germany and are strongly influenced by Rhenish mysticism, foremost among them the chronicles of → Anna von Munzingen (fl. 1316–27), → Katherina von Gebersweiler (fl. 1320) and Christine → Ebner (1277–1356). On these, see also → Sisterbooks.

Slightly different, but nevertheless focussed on the saintly life of the sisterhood, is the fifteenth-century Portuguese chronicle of the Dominican convent of Jesus at Aveiro by Margarida → Pinheiro (b. 1461), with its memoirs of the princess and Dominican nun, the Infanta Saint Joana. Only the Italian nun Bartolomea → Riccoboni (ca

1369–1440) writes of things beyond her convent walls: while she too writes mainly of the history of the house and biographies of its sisters, she also devotes seven chapters to the life of Pope Gregory XII. (See also → Women chroniclers and chronicles for women.)

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GRAEME DUNPHY

Dominici, Luca

[ser Luca di Bartolomeo Dominici]

1363/64–1410. Italy. Pistoiese civic chronicler, notary, and active participant in the public life of his city-state, serving as a member of the *Consiglio degli Anziani* (Council of the Elders) and notary of public offices from the 1390s until his death. He is remembered for two works written in the vernacular and completed at the start of the 15th century: the *Cronaca della venuta dei Bianchi e della moria* (Chronicle of the coming of the Whites and of the plague), which was compiled by his brother, ser Paolo, in 1415 and widely disseminated thereafter; and the *Cronaca seconda* (Second Chronicle), which was unknown until its rediscovery in a private archive in the 19th century.

Both works treat in minute detail the tumultuous social and political life of Pistoia and were written with pragmatic criteria for Pistoiese citizens. The first chronicle focuses on the rise of the flagellant movement of the "Grand Company of the Whites" and the plague of 1399–1400. It presents the devotional practices and religious beliefs of the city in general and Dominici in particular, whose words evoke the events in all their reality and immediacy. The second chronicle covers the period from August 1401 to September 1402, when Pistoia was in the throes of traumatic events. It is concerned with the defence of civic

liberty in the context of the struggle between Pistoia's two ancient rival factions, the pro-Milanese Cancellieri and pro-Florentine Panciatichi, and interregional wars. As such, it affords precious insights into Pistoia's loss of freedom, the impact of Florentine hegemony, and the growth of the Florentine territorial state.

Four copies of the first chronicle survive (a further four or five are recorded), including Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, B. 155

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FLAVIO BOGGI

Donato di Neri

early 1300s–1371/72. Italy. Civic chronicler and cloth merchant from Siena. He is remembered as the author of the *Cronache senesi* (Sienese Chronicles) which were composed in the vernacular and treat the years 1352–71. His work follows in the tradition of the Sienese civic histories attributed to the merchant writers Andrea Dei (see → *Cronica Sanese*) and Agnolo di Tura (see → *Cronaca senese detta la maggiore*) who recorded the major events of their city from the mid-12th century up to 1352, the opening year of Donato's narrative. Combining municipal patriotism with a cosmopolitan outlook, the *Cronache* offer a fully descriptive and reflective treatment of carefully noted incidents in Siena, Tuscany, and Italy from the perspective of an ordinary citizen. Donato must have had access to official documents because his account presents a rich set of statistics and facts on matters ranging from the precise cost of the transportation of relics from Constantinople to Siena in 1359 to the details surrounding the construction of a fortress in Montalcino in 1367–68. It is assumed that Donato died in or shortly after 1371, since his chronicle concludes in this year. It is continued by his son Neri who takes the narrative up to 1382. Among the surviving copies is Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, ms. 187 (A VI 14), on which the most recent critical edition of Donato's work is based.

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FLAVIO BOGGI

Donizone di Canossa

1070/2–post 1136. Italy. Donizone was abbot of Sant' Apollonio OSB in Canossa and author of the Latin verse *Vita Mathildis*, a life of the Countess of Canossa with strong elements of a dynastic chronicle, which he wrote between 1111 and 1114. He also wrote a metrical commentary on Genesis.

In Donizone's monastery the remains of some ancestors of the Counts of Canossa had been deposited, and the Countess Matilda especially took care to advance the memory of her own family at Sant' Apollonio. In the *Vita Mathildis*, which Donizone himself entitled *Liber de principibus canusinis*, Donizone tried to establish his monastery as a permanent space of memory. The *Vita* consists of two books with each ca 1400 hexameters. After the death of the Countess Matilda in 1115, Donizone attached a *lamentatio* for Matilda in 149 verses. In the first book, he delineates the rise of the Counts of Canossa, and in the second he focussed on Matilda herself, thereby characterizing her piety to God and her faithfulness to the Pope Gregory VII. In accordance with his monastic and ascetic ideals of church reform, Donizone placed emphasis on Matilda's benefits to churches and monasteries rather than on her interventions in actual political matters.

The text reveals the distinctive education of Donizone, who cites among others Virgil, Horace, and Donatus. The entire narrative focuses not so much on the life of the Countess in particular, but is rather a glorification of the entire dynasty. Hence, in addition to several chronological errors, the text shows obviously intentional omissions designed to legitimate the dominion of the Counts in Tuscany. Donizone is the only witness who mentions Matilda's intervention in 1077 in favour of Henry IV, when the emperor stood barefoot in the snow awaiting reconciliation with the Papacy. Donizone adds in his dedicatory

manuscript the famous miniature showing Henry kneeling in front of the Countess.

Donizone's exemplar of the *Vita*, which was dedicated to the Countess herself (today Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 4922), is illustrated with seven coloured miniatures of the Counts of Canossa. Recent scholarship has focussed on these miniatures. The visual representation of the Counts and the symbols of power represented in the miniatures become even more splendid in the course of the narrative, thereby reflecting the growing power of the family. Matilda and her family are represented as princes of royal rank. The Donizo-Codex is therefore a splendid manifestation of the power of the Counts of Canossa and an example of dynastic historiography.

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FLORIAN HARTMANN

Dopelnienie szamotulskie (Supplement of Szamotuly)

15th century. Poland. Short Latin chronicle spanning the years 1370–1427, dating from the mid-15th century. *Dopelnienie szamotulskie* is part of a collection of historical texts written for Piotr of Szamotuly, a dignitary from western Poland. The chronicle was composed in 1427 by an anonymous canon in the Trzemeszno Monastery of Canons Regular, whose goal was to describe the reign of King Władysław Jagiełło. The text is often inaccurate, particularly when it comes to events before the reign of Władysław Jagiełło or during the early years of that reign. The author integrates independent texts illustrating points of importance, for example a forecast of a solar eclipse on 16 June 1406 from the University of Kraków; a letter of King Władysław to Bishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec of Poznań (16–18 July 1410) describing the Polish victory at the battle of Tannenberg (1410); and two poems describing wars against the Teutonic Knights. The *Dopelnienie szamotulskie* offers a glimpse of the intellectual life of the Trzemeszno Monastery. Sole manuscript: Warsaw, Polska Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. 8006, fol. 260–79.

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JACEK SOSZYŃSKI

Doria, Iacopo [d'Oria]

13th century. Italy. Iacopo is the last author of the → *Annales Ianuenses*. He was born around 1233 into one of the most notable Genoese families. His brothers Oberto and Lamba were capitani del popolo and victorious in the battles of Meloria and Curzola respectively. In 1273 Iacopo was appointed podestà of Voltri, and later also served as vicar of the Genoese Commune in the Oltregiogo. He took part in important meetings of the council of the Commune, and acted as ambassador of Genoa to Constantinople and Tunis (1284, 1285, 1287). He died sometime between 1294 and 1305.

His most important activity was in the cultural field: Iacopo was a member of the committee for the writing of the city chronicle started at the beginning of the 12th century by → Caffaro of Caschifellone, and the *custos* (keeper) of the archive of the Commune. In this capacity he made a significant contribution to the creation of a *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, a systematic collection of the most important documents of the Commune. He also revised and annotated the text of the *Annales*. In 1279 the committee for the annals was disbanded but Iacopo continued to collect information in order to extend the chronicle on his own. His annals cover the period 1280–93.

Iacopo's appointment to the communal archive gave him access to a wide collection of sources and he was also personally involved in Genoese public life. The information that he thus managed to collect forms a reliable, exhaustive and considered account of Genoese history. Iacopo's work is not lacking in antiquarian interest in Genoa's past and in quotations from sources such as Livy, Solinus, → Isidore of Seville and Gregory the Great. In the communal archive Iacopo also found a forgotten

history of the First Crusade written by Caffaro and an anonymous chronicle of the Kingdom of Jerusalem which he interpolated and continued.

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ELENA BELLOMO

Döring, Dirk

d. 1498. Germany. Leaseholder at the salt-works and town councillor in Lüneburg. Author of a Low German *Historia van her Johan Springenguth* or *Historia van der uneinicheit zwischen dem olden und nigen rade to Luneborg* (History of the dissension between the old and new council in Lüneburg), which describes in about 20 folios the events of the Prälatenkrieg in Lüneburg from 1450-58, the biggest crisis in the city's history. The council was replaced in 1454, but eventually re-installed in 1456. During these years, the mayor Johan Springintgut, a close relative of Döring, died in prison. The circumstances around this event are the main motive behind Döring's work. Döring accuses supporters of the new council of poisoning Springintgut and of refusing him the last confession. His *Historia* is less detailed than the chronicle of Hinrik → Lange, instead emphasizing the clerics' as well as the new council's immoral behaviour. Döring probably had no access to official sources. Ten manuscripts survive, none in autograph: REINECKE's edition follows Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei der Hansastadt, ms. Lune. A 2° 123a.

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HEIKO DROSTE

Döring, Matthias

ca 1390-1469. Germany. Minister-Provincial of the Franciscan Friars of the Saxonian province. Continuator of the Latin *Speculum seu imago mundi*, an abridged version of the *Nova Chronica* of Dietrich → Engelhus. The chronicle starts with brief notes about the years between 1420-22. For 1423-64 it recounts the current events in an elaborated annalistic form. Döring deals with urgent problems of his time: the threat of the Hussites and the Turks, the Council of Basel, of which he was a strong defender, the reform of the Church and the religious orders, but also natural phenomena and miracles. His view on contemporary issues as well as secular and ecclesiastical authorities is critical, sharp and biased. He quotes from → Petrarca's *De vita solitaria*, which is one of his few literary sources. Because of its specific focus on Central and North Germany, Döring's chronicle is regarded as the main source for the history of the Mark Brandenburg and the territory of Prignitz in the first half of the 15th century.

The only existing manuscript dates from the 15th century, Leipzig, UB, cod. 1310, fol. 109^r-124^r. This belonged to Thomas Werner, a theologian at Leipzig who continued Döring's chronicle until 1498.

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PETRA WEIGEL

Doukas

ca 1400-after 1462. Byzantium. A member of the influential Doukas family, and grandson of Michael Doukas, who was important in the Civil War of the 1340s. Neither his first name nor precise dates are known.

Doukas composed a kind of universal chronicle with the title *Ἀριθμοὶ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου ἕως τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς* (The total of all years beginning from the first man up to our generation), which is commonly and rightly seen by modern scholars as a history of the relations between Ottomans and Byzantines between the

years 1341 and 1462. Thus we can find on the first two pages of the work only scarce catalogues of human generations and of the kings of Israel taken from the Old Testament with Adam at the beginning and Jesus Christ in the centre of history. After this Doukas immediately moves on to the Emperor Constantine I, and from there the subsequent centuries up to the death of Emperor Andronicus III (1341) are recorded in a rather cursory manner.

Obviously the author was committed to the merits of → Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos (1341-54) who followed Andronicus, although he mentions clearly that Ioannes should only be seen as regent during the minority of Andronicus' son Ioannes V. Nevertheless, Ioannes succeeded in engaging the Ottomans to the Byzantine interests while the later Emperors made the political situation worse. For that reason Doukas felt himself obliged to write against his own desires about the great Ottoman victories and the final defeat of his compatriots, and from his point of view the sack of Constantinople in 1453 was an inevitable development.

Doukas wrote his work from a certain distance. In 1421 the Genoese engaged him as notary at Nea Phokaia (Asia Minor) before he changed into the service of the Genoese family Gattilusi, who at that time owned the island of Lesbos. On the authority of the Gattilusi, Doukas negotiated the capitulation of Lesbos with the Ottomans in 1462. After that he began to write down his "Total of all years" in 45 chapters, which have an apocalyptic tone; Doukas sees Mehmed II as the prophesied Antichrist (ch. 33, 12 and 34, 5). By capturing and entering Constantinople, Mehmed would herald the end of the world. This fact has often been overlooked by scholars, but without it, it is impossible to understand the reason why the scarce chronological sketch from Adam to Jesus Christ must precede the whole text. The sole manuscript is Paris, BnF, gr. 1310, fol. 288-392 (15th century).

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LARS MARTIN HOFFMANN

Dover Chronicle

13th century. England. Benedictine chronicle in Latin covering AD 1-1286 from St. Martin's Priory, Dover, a cell of Christ Church, Canterbury. From 1242-70 it is similar to the *Chronicle of Christ Church, Canterbury* (see → *Chronicon anonymi cantuariensis*). It is less annalistic from 1258 with informed accounts of events in South East England leading up to the Mise of Lewes, the settlement between Henry III and Simon de Montford subsequent to the Battle of Lewes. Its pro-baronial stance is demonstrated by the incorporation of letters from the barons to Henry III and the account of St. Thomas' miraculous appearance at the battle of Lewes in support of the barons. It is one of only two extant accounts of the royalist defence of the castle and one of the few to state that Henry III was not taken prisoner during the battle. Preserved in London, BL, Cotton Julius D.v. There is no edition.

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GAYNOR BOWMAN

Drechsler, Leonhard

[Leonardus Tornatoris]

late 15th century. Austria. Author of a Latin chronicle of events in the diocese of Salzburg and the Austrian Empire, spanning the years 580 till 1495. It was incorrectly published under the title *Chronicon Anonymi Auctoris Sanpetriensis* (Chronicle by an Anonymous Author from the Monastery of St. Peter), as the author Leonardus Tornatoris (Leonard Drechsler) was considered to be only the copyist.

Up to the year 1452 the chronicle is an almost exact copy of the list of the bishops of Salzburg from Johannes → Serlinger's *Catalogus Pontificum Salisburgensium*, only slightly expanded. From this year onwards, we also get additional information about the diocese, wars and events in the Austrian Empire, natural phenomena etc. These are added under the heading *Incidentia* after the passages about the bishops. The autograph

is preserved in the Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter at Salzburg in the codex T. IV. 10.

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MIRIAM WEBER

Duchesne, Jean

[du Quesne]

15th century. France. Scribe, translator and chronicler from Lille, writing for the house of Burgundy. In 1473, he produced the first complete translation into French of Caesar's *De bello Gallico* for Charles the Bold. However, Jean reworked Caesar's text, adding a large number of allusions to the greatness of the house of Burgundy, as well as some excerpts from other sources.

In the prologue, Jean announced his intention to write a world chronicle spanning antiquity to the late 15th century. It has been generally considered that he abandoned this ambitious project, but recently a manuscript containing this *Chronique habregie* (abridged chronicle) was discovered in a private collection. The text, written in 1478–9, is somewhat disordered and heterogeneous and borrows greatly from others, such as the → *Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes* and → Martin of Opava. Furthermore, Jean used a French chronicle (MONTIGNY suggests the → *Grandes chroniques de France*) for his very much abridged history of the French kings. The text is divided into two parts of equal length, one of which deals with ancient history from Augustus to Nerva, and the other with later Roman emperors, popes and French and English rulers.

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PER FÖRNEGÅRD

Dudo of St. Quentin

965?–1043? Normandy. Canon of the collegiate church of Saint-Quentin in the Vermandois. Author of *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, composed between 996 and 1015. It was commissioned by Duke Richard I and completed in the reign of his successor Richard II, to whom Dudo was chaplain. Each of the four separate books is devoted to a different leader, Hastings, Rollo, William Longsword and Duke Richard I, in a relatively rare style, the prosimetrum, a sophisticated mix of historical prose and 88 poems in diverse metres. While it is true that the author consulted the *Annales* of → Flodoard of Reims, his main sources were oral, and his text is the first example of Norman history written in a literary style. This panegyric of the lineage of the Dukes of Normandy placed under the protection of God oscillates continually between hagiography and historiography. The work survives in 13 manuscripts (7 lack the poems), the most important being Rouen, BM, Y 11. It is the principal source in the 11th and 12th century for historians of Normandy such as → William of Jumièges, → Orderic Vitalis, → Wace and → Benoit de Sainte-Maure.

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LAURENCE MATHEY-MAILLE

Dullaert, Adriaan

d. 1471. Low Countries. Town clerk of Brussels. Author of the *Origo sive exordium monasterii*

nostri Domini de Gratia ordinis Carthusiensium iuxta Bruxellam in Schute (origin or beginning of the monastery of our Lord for the benefit of the order of Carthusians near Brussels in Scheut).

Dullaert, a powerful follower of one of the Brussels factions, wrote this chronicle in order to legitimate the disputed subsidization by the town of Brussels of the erection of the monastery of Scheut in Anderlecht, near Brussels, and to highlight his own role. It forms a fascinating, detailed, but biased, account of the political and social movements in Brussels in the middle of the 15th century. In the 1480s, Adriaan's chronicle was revised by the prior Marcel Voet in his *Liber foundationis*.

There are three extant manuscripts: Vienna, ÖNB, Series nova, 12779, the only manuscript that holds the complete text; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1067; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 71 C 9.

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ROBERT STEIN

Dupin, Perrinet

later 15th century. France. Chronicler from La Rochelle, and secretary at the court of Savoy. In 1448 he wrote a Middle French chivalric romance *Philippe de Madien* based on Aimon de Varennes' *Florimont*. Between 1448–77, he wrote a biography of Amedée VII and a series of other biographical works entitled "chronicles": *Chronique du comte Rouge*, *Chronique d'Amedée III*, *Chronique d'Humbert III* and *Chronique de Thomas Ier*. His work is largely inspired by → Cabaret d'Orville's *Chronique de Savoie* (1419). Manuscripts: Paris, BnF, fr. 19168 and fr. 12578.

Dupin probably also wrote a lost biography of Amedée VIII, who became pope Felix V, as suggested by an archival fragment and by the *Memorial des instructions necessaires a Perrinet Dupin pour les Croniquez de Savoye touchant les faiz de nostre Saint Pere* also entitled *Supplique a la duchesse Yolande*. The *Memorial* is a list of 56 questions asked to Yolande of Savoy about Amedée's reign; this document is extremely interesting because it shows the chronicler at work, collecting information. Dupin's style is characterised by long and vivid descriptions, which occasionally interfere with the intelligibility of the text. Manuscript: Turin, Archivio di Stato, Cat. 2^a stori generali 2. 3.

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TANIA VAN HEMELRYCK

Duran, Profiat

[Isaaq ben Moses ha-Levi; Ephodi]

died ca 1414. Aragon (Iberia). Jewish court astronomer to Juan of Aragon, Hebrew scholar, and polemicist, and author of the lost *Ma'amar Zikhron ha-Shemadot* (Treatise on the History of the Persecutions).

In all likelihood, Profiat Duran wrote this work in the wake of the persecutions that befell Catalonian Jewry in 1391 (GRAETZ, believing the work contained allusions to friar Vincente Ferrer, takes 1412 as a *terminus post quem*). According to Isaaq Abravanel (1437–1508), Duran had written the treatise as a comprehensive survey of anti-Jewish persecutions, from the destruction of the Temple

in Jerusalem in 70 CE to the pogroms of 1391, during which he had been forcibly baptised. Abraham was the first to consult Duran's account, for the survey of expulsions from England and France in his 1497 *Yeshu'ot Meshiho* (Salvations of the Messiah). In the 1520s, Solomon ibn Verga used similar material in *Shevet Yehudah* (The Staff of Judah), the scope of which largely resembles that of Duran's treatise. Likewise Samuel Usque wrote similarly in his *Consolação as tribulaçoens de Ysrael*, the *editio princeps* of which appeared in 1553. We may thus assume the treatise circulated and enjoyed a certain authority among the first generation of post-expulsion Iberian-Jewish scholars.

Like Duran's polemical *Al tehi ka-avotekha* (Be Not Like unto Thy Fathers), his programmatic Hebrew grammar *Ma'aseh Efod* (The Work of the Ephod) and his correspondence with local Jewish leaders, we may expect the *Ma'amar* to have been written from a deep concern with Jewish continuity in the years following 1391, and to have included some harsh criticism of the inept Jewish leadership and the social tensions brought about by their incompetence.

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IRENE ZWIEP

Eadmer of Canterbury

ca 1060–post 1128. England. Benedictine monk of Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury; secretary to archbishops Anselm (1093–1109) and Ralph d'Escures (1114–22). Eadmer produced some twenty works, mostly saints' lives, miracle collections and sermons. He was also the author of a substantial Latin chronicle, the so-called *Historia Novorum* (History of Recent Novelties), conceived as a companion to his *Vita S. Anselmi*: whereas the *Vita* was a record of the archbishop's "private life", the *Historia* was a record of his public work, "of those things which took place between the kings of England and Anselm as archbishop of Canterbury".

The first part of the *Historia Novorum* (books 1–2) covers Lanfranc's legacy, but its main concern is Anselm's dealings with William II (1087–1100), above all their conflict over the feudal services that the archbishopric owed the king. The second part (book 3 and most, if not all, of book 4) tells of Anselm's dealings with Henry I (1100–35) and of the English branch of the investiture dispute. Under both kings Anselm had endured long periods of exile and Eadmer had accompanied him; but whereas the first part is full of intimate detail, the second is less well-informed about Anselm's words and thoughts. Documents replace the scenes and speeches. Having discovered that Eadmer was collecting material about his life and deeds, the prelate had distanced himself from his secretary. These parts were both completed during the vacancy that followed Anselm's death. Eadmer had intended to end the *Historia* at this point, but he added a third part (books 5–6) covering the pontificate of Ralph d'Escures, a period when the see was hard-pressed to defend its pretensions to patriarchal authority over the British Isles. Eadmer was closely involved in this struggle as Ralph's secretary (1116–19) and as bishop-elect to the diocese of St. Andrews (1120–21), an appointment which he was forced to abandon.

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In a last, desperate, attempt to buttress the archbishopric's position, Eadmer inserted into this phase of the *Historia* eleven documents ascribed to popes of the 6th–10th century, all of which are, as he must have known, forgeries. A partial holograph survives as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 452.

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PAUL ANTONY HAYWARD

Early Christian historical writing

1. Origins and beginnings: Hellenistic-Jewish background; 2. Early developments: Second century apologetic literature; 3. Further Jewish influences: Apocalyptic, Millenarianism and Hippolytus' *Chronicon*; 4. Eusebius' *Chronicle* and its impact; 5. Eusebius' *Church History* and its successors; 6. Conclusion.

1. Origins and beginnings: Hellenistic-Jewish background

Christian historical writing in the widest sense begins with the earliest Christian historical

sources. These consist mainly of New Testament and related writings including the Pauline epistles, Gospels and Acts, and their sources, dating from the mid-first to the early second century AD. These works are closely related to, or indeed forms of, Jewish historical writing; for Christianity emerged entirely from a Jewish context and was first recognized as a distinct phenomenon in relation to Judaism. It is probable that at least some of these earliest Christian writings were influenced by the works of Jewish historians such as → Josephus. This may especially have been the case with the work of Luke-Acts in the New Testament (STERLING 1992). Earliest Christian historical writing therefore builds on a tradition which by the first century AD was already more than three hundred years old, namely Hellenistic-Jewish (apologetic) historical writing.

The dominance of Greek culture in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquests and during the reign of the "successors" (διάδοχοι) between the late fourth and the second century BC challenged non-Greek ("Barbarian") cultures to produce their own ("counter-") histories and chronologies and thus to assert their cultural identities, for example by demonstrating their superior age (according to the principle that "the older" is always "the better", Greek πρεσβύτερον κρείττων; PILHOFER), the continuity of their traditions (διαδοχή), and the relevance of their earliest cultural achievements for the present (on the role of "inventions" in this context see THRAEDE). The Greeks acknowledged many of these claims, although they felt not really challenged by them in their underlying assumption of cultural superiority. At the same time these claims were somewhat ambivalent; for they were written in Greek and aimed at Greek-speaking audiences. They aspired to acknowledgment by Greeks and were therefore to some extent also an admission of inferiority. Nevertheless, authors like → Berossus in Babylonia and → Manetho in Egypt were able to demonstrate a significant degree of antiquity and cultural excellence of their non-Greek cultural traditions and therefore managed to challenge Greek authors to reply to them so that what has been called "a war of books" (MURRAY 166; BURGESS 24) erupted during this period between Greek and non-Greek authors concerning the superiority of their respective cultures on grounds of their antiquity (STERLING 2007).

The earliest known Jewish historian of this kind in Alexandria was Demetrius. He lived in the late third century BC and wrote a chronography from

the period of the Patriarchs to the fall of Judah. His source was the Jewish → Bible, which later also became the Christian Old Testament. His method was already to a high degree "critical". He tried to put the biblical chronology in order and even corrected it when he thought it necessary. His work is probably linked to the Greek universal chronicle movement of the same period, which culminated in the work of → Eratosthenes. Demetrius was followed by → Aristobulus who flourished ca 176–170 BC. Aristobulus argued that Greek wisdom was derived from Moses and the Pentateuch. Writing a generation after Aristobulus, → Eupolemus compiled a chronology from creation to his own time (FGrHist 723.5) and argued that Moses had invented the alphabet and handed it on to the Phoenicians who gave it to the Greeks. → Artapanus was probably a contemporary of Eupolemus. He argued that Abraham had been a teacher to the ancient Egyptians while Moses later taught Orpheus, advanced Egyptian science, technology and administration, invented the hieroglyphs and was later venerated as Hermes.

This Hellenistic Jewish movement of apologetic historiography was continued by → Josephus, a Palestinian Jew of priestly descent, who became a Pharisee and fought against the Romans in the Jewish war before changing sides and becoming Roman himself. He wrote in the latter half of the first century AD. Despite his sympathy for Rome he continued to present Jewish culture as superior. In his *Jewish Antiquities* (modelled on → Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*) he argued that Abraham had taught the Egyptians astronomy and arithmetic and that Pythagoras had imitated Jewish teachings. His work *Against Apion* is an apologetic of Judaism against Hellenism, and his *Jewish War* records the road to disaster from 66 to 70 AD. We have mentioned that he may have influenced the author of Luke-Acts, and he had a great influence on later Christian historiography (→ Eusebius; and the Latin Josephus-tradition: → Hegesippus).

Besides more "universalizing" types of Jewish historiography, which were more typical for the Diaspora, especially Alexandria, there were also more "particularizing" ones, which were perhaps more typical of Palestine and which focussed on biblical history and the history of the Jewish people as a separate nation. These too influenced early Christian historiography. For example, a Jewish chronograph in Hebrew entitled *Seder Olam Rabbah* (Great World Order) dates from

the mid-second century AD. Compiled ca 150 AD it uses the work of earlier historians and covers the period from creation to the Bar Kochba revolt (132–135 AD). It is known as the first Jewish work to count the years from creation (i.e. "world years", *anni mundi*), and it influenced the early Christian approach to Old Testament chronology, including that of → Eusebius.

2. Early developments: Second century apologetic literature

Early Christian apologists co-opted and developed Jewish apologetic for their claims to Christian antiquity (PILHOFER, DROGE, BOYS-STONES). In support of such claims many apologetic works from the second century contain detailed historical and chronological sections; most prominent among these are Justin Martyr's *Apologies* (ca 150 AD), → Tatian's *Oration to the Greeks* (ca 170 AD), → Theophilus' *To Autolytus* (ca 185 AD), → Tertullian's *Apology* (ca 197 AD) and → Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* (ca 200 AD).

For example, in *Oration* 31 and 35–41 → Tatian demonstrates through a detailed chronological account from Chaldaean (→ Berossus), Phoenician and Egyptian (Ptolemy and Apion) sources that Greek *paideia* is a far more recent phenomenon than non-Greek ("Barbarian") wisdom and therefore inferior: Moses lived not only earlier than Homer but earlier than all the poets before Homer. Justin Martyr, in his *First Apology* 31.8, makes this claim implicitly when he dates Moses 5000 years before Christ, earlier than any other figure in cultural history. → Theophilus, in *To Autolytus* 3, presents a chronology stretching from Adam to the emperor Marcus Aurelius. His account is so strongly influenced by Jewish models that he has been assumed to have had a Jewish background himself. He criticizes Homer, Hesiod and all of Greek historiography as unreliable and secondary to biblical history. → Tertullian's account is less elaborate than Theophilus' but follows the same principles and was influential in later Latin literature.

Christian apologetic differed from its Jewish predecessor in that it could also include Greek elements, such as Olympiad chronicles, and chronologies of other cultures (BURGESS 30). Claims to biblical antiquity (which Christian authors would not have acknowledged as Jewish) could be conflated with similar claims by other ancient cul-

tures, like Egypt and Babylonia. Thus Greek culture was painted as inferior to such "Barbarian" cultures generally, for example by → Tatian (who was by his own account an "Assyrian"). Nevertheless, Christians accepted Greek culture as the standard culture of their time and as vehicle for a Christian world view. Some apologists, among them → Theophilus, → Tertullian and → Clement of Alexandria, also began to include Roman emperors in their chronology.

Clement's chronological passage in *Stromata* I 21.101–147 covering altogether 5784 years from Creation to the death of the emperor Commodus in 192 AD (*Stromata* I 21.144.3) represents an important step from a merely apologetic use of chronography for the proof of Christian antiquity towards the computation of a universal chronicle as first attempted by authors such as → Hippolytus of Rome and → Julius Africanus in the 220s and 230s, and first achieved by → Eusebius towards the end of the third and in the early fourth century.

3. Further Jewish influences: Apocalyptic, Millenarianism and Hippolytus' *Chronicon*

Early on in the second century AD another Jewish influence began to impact on Christian historiography, the belief in an imminent (apocalyptic) end of the world and the beginning of a messianic reign, usually thought to last for a thousand years (FRANKFURTER, LÖSSL). From a later perspective this influence seems to originate exclusively from the New Testament book of Revelation (ch. 20) and its reception, but in the second and third centuries it was much broader. Thus in addition to counting from the beginning of the world some Christians now also tried to calculate the end of the world and the second coming of Christ from certain clues found in Scripture. For example, following Psalm 90,4 ("for God a thousand years are like a day") they concluded that the six days of creation equal six thousand years, the age of the world, followed by a seventh millennium, in which Christ would reign on earth. One of the earliest Christian sources to express this idea is the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. 15.4) ca 120 AD.

But not all early Christian historiographical sources which express Millenarian views were necessarily preaching Millenarianism. When in the 220s and 230s → Hippolytus of Rome, in

his *Commentary on Daniel* and in his *Chronicon* (Χρονικῶν), dated the Incarnation to the year 5500 AM, his implication was that the second coming of Christ would have to be expected for 500 AD. Hippolytus used this as an argument to dampen the message of extreme Millennarians in his time who preached that the end of the world was nigh; for according to his scheme it was still more than 250 years in the future. The slightly earlier (before 221 AD) Χρονογραφία of → Julius Africanus seem to have been guided by a similar approach. Later, → Eusebius, who was a confirmed anti-Millennarian, dated the year of Christ's birth to 5228 AM and so postponed the day of the second coming even further. Thus to what extent, and in what sense, Millennarian ideas were taken up by Christian historiographers, even around 500 AD, when eschatological speculation should be expected to have reached a climax, is a difficult question (MAGDALINO, MEIER). The "Millennarianism" found in early Christian historiographical writings, including in writers like Irenaeus (who influenced → Hippolytus of Rome), → Tertullian, Victorinus of Pettau (who was influenced by Hippolytus) and → Lactantius, is certainly a much more complex and sophisticated phenomenon than any popular end-time beliefs at the time or, for that matter, at any time in history. There were also express anti-Millennarians such as → Clement of Alexandria and → Eusebius, who were influential as early Christian chronographers, and later, after Millennarianism had been officially condemned as heretical, authors such as Tyconius (a major influence on → Augustine of Hippo) and → Jerome tried to integrate the more acceptable views of earlier Millennarians (e.g. Victorinus of Pettau) into the mainstream (DULAHEY).

→ Hippolytus of Rome's *Chronicon* is also important for another reason. While other earlier Christian chroniclers, from the second century apologists to → Julius Africanus, followed mainly Hellenistic-Jewish models and combined biblical, Greek, Roman and "oriental" (Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian) sources to achieve some kind of universal picture, Hippolytus seems to have tried to keep much more strictly and narrowly to biblical (Old Testament) history only. His *Diemerismos* (διαμερισμός), an ethnography based exclusively on the narrative in Genesis 10 of the post-diluvial division of humankind into three groups descending from the three sons of Noah, Sem, Ham and Japheth, is a case in point. Hippolytus may have developed this model in

reaction against the "universalism" of authors like → Clement of Alexandria and → Julius Africanus, or he may have simply followed in the footsteps of a narrower Palestinian-Jewish rather than a Diaspora Hellenistic-Jewish tradition. The radical purity of his approach however seems to have been difficult to sustain. Although with its *Diemerismos* Hippolytus' *Chronicon* became very influential in later Christian historiography, especially in a particular strand of the Alexandrian tradition (→ *Goleniščev Chronicle*, → *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, → *Chronicon Paschale*), even such close descendants of the Greek original as the two Latin versions of the → *Liber generationis mundi* (I and II) had to add at least some non-biblical information to render the account "more intelligible" for their late-antique users (INGLEBERT 497).

What Hippolytus thus lost in terms of historical universality he seems to have tried to gain by including a geographical element in his account. His *Diemerismos* is supplemented with a *Stadiasmus* (σταδίασμος), a description of the Eastern Mediterranean coast in the tradition of a sailing manual, a naval equivalent of an *itinerarium*. Though the possibility has been raised that the *Stadiasmus* in Hippolytus' *Chronicon* is in fact a later addition, the use and function of the itinerary form for a Christian historiography is clear. It can also be studied in later (fourth to sixth century) works such as the → *Itinerarium Burdigalense* or the → *Itinerarium Egeriae*. The tendency there is to "particularize" (i.e. "nationalise" or even "tribalise") rather than to "universalize" Christian history: only that part of the world, or of history, is described which is immediately relevant for the protagonists' identity or salvation, be it the Holy Land, the church, or the protagonists' own nation. Thus the *Liber generationis mundi* I (fifth century) adds a list of Roman bishops to the list of Jewish high priests, the *Liber generationis mundi* II (fourth century) has a list of Roman emperors and consuls, the (Roman) → *Chronograph of 354*, which also uses Hippolytus' scheme, a list of Roman consuls and martyrs, the (North-African, Donatist) → *Liber genealogus* (fifth century) a list of persecutions, while → Gregory of Tours (sixth century) lists Merovingian bishops and kings (INGLEBERT 497–502). These later works (and there are many more like them) can be seen as descendants of a tradition at the beginning of which lies the *Chronicon* of Hippolytus of Rome.

4. Eusebius' *Chronicle* and its impact

a) *Links between the Chronicle and the Church History*

Despite the importance of the developments of the second and third centuries the key to understanding early Christian historical writing remains the work of → Eusebius of Caesarea, emerging between the 260s and 330s AD. What was still "developing" in earlier authors came to fruition in Eusebius. It was him who "invented" the two defining genres of early Christian historical writing, the *Chronicle* as a "complete" unified synchronic tabular presentation of world history, and the *Church History* as a "history of the Christian nation".

In the *Church History* "the church" was presented in analogy to a state or empire, but a state that fought "peaceful wars" against the enemies of truth (Jews, pagan intellectuals, heretics and persecutors) and thus produced new heroes (the martyrs), commanders (the bishops), wars (the persecutions) as well as victories and triumphs. Just as ancient historians had often written about wars as events and processes that could best explain the social and cultural changes which had led to the present states of affairs, thus Eusebius now wrote about this new kind of "wars" and this new type of social entity, namely "the church" (CROKE 2007, 574–577). His motivation was in part apologetic, but in part also "scientific" (historiographic). His argument was not only supported by rhetoric, but also by documentary evidence, a technique that had characterised the best of Hellenistic scientific traditions, especially that of Alexandria (MOMIGLIANO 136). And similar to his Alexandrian predecessors Eusebius had only become able to produce a history of this type in at least two editorial stages between 290 and 325 AD, because around the same time (perhaps as early as 276, but certainly by 303 AD) he had been able to prepare for himself an appropriate working tool, his *Chronicle*.

b) *The original achievement of Eusebius' Chronicle*

While earlier authors, especially → Julius Africanus, had already undertaken punctual synchronisations of biblical, Greek and oriental history,

no one had ever aimed at doing this in a systematic and complete fashion. This is also in part due to the way these earlier "chronicles", or better, *chronographiae*, were presented, namely as successive lists of persons (rulers, priests, philosophers, artists, prophets etc.) and events. The first part of Eusebius' chronicle too was such a *chronographia*. But in a second part entitled *Chronici canones* (Χρονικοί κανόνες, whereby κανόνες meant the columns in which the material was arranged) Eusebius did something new. He counted the years from Abraham (not from Creation) and coordinated all events, decade by decade, across several (up to nine!) historical traditions. These lists were arranged in columns across the page or double-page of the codex in which they were written and interspersed with much additional information (excerpts from ancient historians and the Bible, cross-references etc.). This was a new format. It was also influenced by the technological development of the codex. The codex had been known for some time, but early versions had been small and fragile. In the late third and early fourth century larger sizes in more durable material were produced, which made such a project as Eusebius' chronicle viable. There had been an earlier project of a similar nature, namely Origen's *Hexapla*, the presentation of the Old Testament text in six columns (Hebrew, Hebrew in Greek transcription, the Septuagint and three later translators), which might have served as a model for Eusebius' *Chronicle* (GRAFTON AND WILLIAMS). Interestingly, no Greek witness of the original layout of either Origen's or Eusebius' project survives, but only copies of translations into Syriac and Latin

c) *Jerome and the Greek continuators*

Thus not only modern (MOSSHAMMER) but already late-antique users considered Eusebius' *Chronicle* an original achievement (CROKE 1982). → Jerome, who translated it and continued it to the year 378 AD, makes a clear distinction between → Julius Africanus' Χρονογραφία and → Eusebius' Χρονικοί κανόνες. He also calls the latter an *omnimoda historia*, an expression which he also uses for a now lost work of a contemporary of his, Nummius Aemilianus → Dexter. → Augustine too relied on Eusebius. It was only → Panodorus (400 AD) and → Anianus (412 AD) who tried to go beyond Eusebius and to produce a synchronised

history for the time before Abraham. But these later chroniclers also reverted back to Hippolytus and Julius Africanus by dating the birth of Christ to 5500 AM rather than 5200 AM. Also in 412 AD the author of the → *Goleniščev Chronicle* included Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Eusebius and a consular chronicle (→ *Consularia* and *fasti*) in one account, and in the sixth century the Greek original of the → *Excerpta Latina Barbari* was compiled from Hippolytus, Julius Africanus and Eusebius. The works of → Ioannes Malalas and the → *Chronicon Paschale* followed around the mid-sixth (532 and 565) and early seventh century. But these later Greek chronicles, although valuable in their own right, cannot really be considered developments of Eusebius' work. Rather, they are abbreviated (epitomised) histories or annotated lists. Some also relied more on earlier chroniclers (Hippolytus and Julius Africanus) rather than Eusebius. Later Greek chronicles were also more influenced by → Theophanes and the Syriac tradition.

While a number of later Greek chronicles, in particular the → *Chronicon Paschale*, → Georgios Synkellos and the → *Anonymus Matritensis*, preserve large parts of Eusebius' *Chronographia* and *Chronici canones*, the Greek text of Eusebius' work is lost in its original form. Only Jerome's Latin translation preserves the original structure of the *canones*, though it inserted additions (focussing on Roman political and cultural history) and added a continuation.

d) Prosper of Aquitaine and the Latin continuators

Jerome's translation also started a new Latin tradition, the first major representative of which is → Prosper of Aquitaine. In 433 AD Prosper produced a summary of Jerome's chronicle entitled *Epitome chronicon*. To this he added a continuation of his own (up to 433) which he updated twice, in 445 and 455. Recommended by → Cassiodorus, this became the most popular chronicle for centuries to come and influenced many other continuations and abridgments. Although influenced, through Jerome, by Eusebius, Prosper developed a new type of chronicle for the Latin west which was in fact more akin to → Hippolytus of Rome's model (INGLEBERT 508). He prefixed an (albeit very brief) history for the time before Abraham—the 2242 years from Adam to the Flood and the

1070 years from Noah to Abraham take up merely two pages in the modern edition—and focussed even more than Jerome on biblical and Roman rather than on Greek and eastern events. For his own time he restricted himself mainly to ecclesiastical events.

The → *Gallic Chronicle of 452*, attributed to Prosper in the manuscripts, and the → *Gallic Chronicle of 511*, attributed to → Sulpicius Severus in the only surviving manuscript, are both continuations of Jerome's *Chronici canones* similar to Prosper's, though they reflect even more than the latter specific local and regional situations prevalent in the periods when they were written, such as disruption of Roman rule during barbarian invasions in southern Gaul, northern Spain and Italy, and problems with heresies. The latter may have drawn on the former, and also on other sources including → Sulpicius Severus, → Rufinus, → Orosius, → Hydatius and the → *Consularia Italica*. Also very similar to the latter is → Cassiodorus' short chronicle, which mentions the time from Adam to the Deluge in a single sentence and otherwise focuses on Roman political and military history, although it also lists biblical and ecclesiastical events.

In the seventh century → Isidore of Seville combined the structure of Jerome's *canones* with Augustine's scheme of the six *aetates* (*Aetas* theory; see → Six Ages of the World) and in doing so showed wider interests than either Augustine, whose scheme had remained narrowly focussed on biblical history, or Prosper and those in his wake, who had restricted themselves mainly to ecclesiastical or Roman affairs. Isidore in contrast included ancient oriental, Greek mythological and historical, Roman, biblical and ecclesiastical events. His account on the origins of the Goths ("Scyths") drawn from a summary of Pompeius Trogus' ethnography attests both to the high level of his scholarship and the contemporary relevance of his work (INGLEBERT 509–511).

5. Eusebius' *Church History* and its successors

a) Rufinus and the Greek continuators

Thus Eusebius' *Chronicle* developed different lives of its own, in East and West, and in several

stages and languages, Greek, Latin, Syriac and Armenian. In a similar way the *Church History*, the narrative history which Eusebius had conceived on the basis of his chronographic research, too, soon developed an afterlife and found successors. Once more, the first steps were taken in the Latin west. Having translated Eusebius' *Chronicle* Jerome also intended to write a *Church History* (DUVAL). But it was not to be. Jerome did realise several other influential historiographical projects including his *De viris illustribus*, a "literary history" of early Christian authors, later continued by → Gennadius of Marseille, but he did not succeed in translating or adapting Eusebius' *Church History*. This task fell to his former friend and later arch-rival → Rufinus of Aquileia, who completed it in 402/3. Just as Jerome had done with the *Chronicle*, Rufinus abridged and supplemented Eusebius' work and added a continuation for the time between 325 and 395 (VAN DEUN). The influence of this translation, and especially the continuation, was considerable. It was heavily used by later church historians and chroniclers and even translated into Greek.

The earliest Greek continuators of Eusebius' *Church History* emerged only several decades later with Philostorgius and → Socrates Scholasticus (430s to early 440s), → Theodoret of Cyr (mid-440s) and → Sozomen (late 440s). A continuation by one of Eusebius' successors as bishop of Caesarea, → Gelasius (bishop of Caesarea from 367 to 400), has been called in doubt (VAN NUFFELEN 2002). Covering the period between 325 and Gelasius' own time (either 378 or 395) it should have left traces in the other continuators. Instead, Gelasius' *Church History* (ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία) seems to draw not only on Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, but even on Rufinus. Thus it seems that this work, of which only fragments remain, was wrongly attributed to Gelasius in the fifth century by an anonymous author. (For a view that considers Gelasius' *Church History* to be authentic see VAN DEUN).

Later continuators of Eusebius include Hesy-chius of Jerusalem (covering the period until 450), Gelasius of Cyzicus (until 475), Timothy Aelurus (460–475), → Zacharias Scholasticus (450–490), Ioannes Diakrinomenos (429–518), → Theodorus Lector (439–518), Basil of Antioch (450–540), → Evagrius Scholasticus (431–593) and the 13th/14th century Byzantine church historian Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (whose extant account ends in the year 610).

b) Historical events and historiographical perspectives: Differences between East and West

Each "continuator" has a different historiographical perspective (different also from Eusebius) and is thus an author in his own right as much as a continuator of Eusebius. Eusebius' own vision had been influenced by the convergence of Roman empire and Christian church as initiated by the "providential coincidence of Augustus and Christ" (CROKE 2007, 575). From Eusebius' perspective this convergence had to some extent reached a climax when a Christian emperor emerged with Constantine (emperor from 306 to 337). But in Constantine's time the Roman empire was still anything but "Christian". Even under his successors it was characterised more by religious conflict and civil wars than by a "triumph of Christian orthodoxy". It was only Theodosius I, "the Great", emperor from 379 to 395, who "christianised" the empire to some degree and established some kind of orthodox regime. But the decades following Theodosius' reign were again characterised by "Barbarian invasions" (affecting particularly the West and culminating in the "Sack of Rome" by the Goths in 410) and by further religious conflicts (affecting particularly the East and involving the rivalry between the great metropolitan cities of Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople, and newly developing Christian regions in the Orient, especially Syria).

c) Western perspectives: Orosius, Augustine, Salvianus of Marseille

This also explains to some extent the time lag between Eusebius' own work (extending until 325) and the beginnings of the continuation of his historiographical project. Jerome translated the *Chronicle* ca 380, at the beginning of Theodosius' reign, Rufinus the *Church History* two decades later. The Barbarian invasions during the first decade of the fifth century and the Sack of Rome in 410 triggered the works of → Orosius, an acquaintance of → Jerome's (written ca 415), → Augustine (*City of God* written ca 411–426), and, a few decades later, → Salvianus of Marseille (who lived from ca 400 to after 470) and others in the West (e.g. Sidonius Apollinaris). Similar to the chronicles in the wake of → Sulpicius Severus and

→ Prosper of Aquitaine these works dealt with the impact of the invasions and the questions they raised with regard to the future of Christianity in the context of the Roman empire, a central tenet of the Eusebian vision, which had been called in question by these recent developments.

→ Orosius, whose account was very quickly to become the most popular and most influential for centuries, produced a seven book *Historia adversus Paganos* (History Against the Pagans) in which he refuted the alleged pagan charge that the Christians were responsible for the decline of Rome. He demonstrated with the help of ancient (pagan) authors (Livy, Sallust, → Tacitus, → Suetonius and others) and, of course, → Eusebius, that in fact the present time was no more, nor any less, precarious than any time in the past. Calamities like the Sack of Rome were God's punishment for the sinfulness and corruption of the Romans and on balance the disasters of the present were less severe than the catastrophes of the past. Thus, following Eusebius, Orosius produced an image of Rome that took account of the new reality (Christianity) which was already in the process of transforming Roman identity. At the same time he also perpetuated this existing Roman identity, "saved" it for the present and projected it into the future. In other words, he "extended the achievement of Eusebius by connecting the Romans into Christianity and wider history" (CROKE 2007, 575). And the popularity of Orosius' work in the Middle Ages indicates that people in the medieval West seem to have happily identified themselves with these Romans and given Rome and the Romans a place in medieval history and church history.

Orosius apparently wrote his *History* following a request by → Augustine. By that time (ca 415) Augustine had already embarked on his own historiographical work, the *De civitate dei* (City of God). He had begun it in 411 and was to complete it in 426. He too had set out to refute the pagan charge that the Sack of Rome was a result of the Christianisation of the Roman Empire. But his scope was slightly different from that of Orosius. His question was not just regarding the earthly future of the Christian church and the Roman empire. Influenced by an eschatological tradition that reached back (via the Donatist theologian Tyconius) to traditions on which also → Hippolytus of Rome had drawn, he proposed a distinction between a divine and an earthly state that transcended that question and linked the biblical message about the end of time, Christ's Second

Coming and the Final Judgment, directly with the question of the destiny of humankind as a whole. Naturally, the influence of this vision was much less directly evident in medieval historiography than that of Orosius' *History*. Even the use of the "two-state" (*civitas*) motif in medieval authors such as → Otto of Freising was more evident of a certain degree of misunderstanding than of a genuine reception process. Nevertheless, Augustine's historiographical vision in the *City of God* does relativize Eusebius' view of history and is thus relevant beyond the confines of late-antique and medieval historiography.

In comparison, a work like → Salvianus of Marseille's *De gubernatione dei* (Rule of God) is more limited in scope than the works of → Augustine and → Orosius, whom Salvian knew, but whose historical evidence (e.g. the cruelty of Roman rule) he saw in a very different light. Salvian wrote already under the impression of the end of the Roman empire in the West (commonly dated to 476 AD). He saw the collapse of Roman rule as a consequence of Roman decadence and (similar to → Tacitus) the Barbarians as models who lived their lives according to the values (e.g. chastity) which the Romans had long abandoned. In his view God had sent the Barbarians to punish the Romans. In Salvian's time "christianisation" was already further advanced than in Augustine's and Orosius' time. The pagans against whom Augustine and Orosius had polemicised were no longer a serious cultural force. In that respect Orosius' identification of Roman and Christian culture had already taken root. The contrast now was increasingly between a Roman past (which may still have remained as a partially normative memory) and a Barbarian present. Soon the Barbarian nations were to produce histories and church histories of their own: Goths (→ Jordanes), Merovingians (→ Gregory of Tours), Lombards (→ *Origo gentis Langobardorum*), English (→ Bede), and many others.

d) Eastern perspectives: From Socrates to Theodorus Lector

In the Greek East the Barbarian invasions and the fall of Rome played a much lesser historiographical role than in the West. Here a "Greek Roman Empire" (MILLAR) survived intact for several more centuries and it was religious and regional conflicts within that empire that created a dynamic in which the continuations of

Eusebius' *Church History* flourished. As a consequence, most Greek *Church Histories* after Eusebius are, in one way or other, "heretical", or at least partisan in the sense that they were written by members of specific church political parties or interest groups.

Thus of Philostorgius it has been said that he wrote his history from a "radical Arian" ("Eunomian") point of view (LEPPIN). → Socrates showed sympathy towards Novatians, Origenists, and the anti-Chryostomian party in Constantinople. → Sozomen, who dedicated his history to the emperor (Theodosius II), seems to have been "orthodox" but pro-Chryostomian. → Theodoret, who was to be condemned a Nestorian in 449 but rehabilitated in 451, considered himself orthodox while writing his *Church History* during the 440s and polemicised against positions which he identified as Nestorian or Monophysite.

Most later authors also used earlier ones: → Sozomen made extensive use of → Socrates, → Theodoret used → Rufinus, Socrates and possibly also Sozomen. And most added information of their own and frequently intermingled theological and ecclesiastical with political and military material. "They all struggled with determining the boundary between ecclesiastical history and that of the wars and politics of the imperial world" (CROKE 2007, 576).

After 451 the Council of Chalcedon functioned as a new point of departure for church historians (WHITBY). From now on there were "Chalcedonians" and "anti-Chalcedonians" and among the latter "Monophysites" and "Nestorians". Already → Theodoret, as we have seen, wrote (still in the run-up to the Council) under the impression of the controversy. Ca 475 Gelasius of Cyzicus wrote against the Monophysites ("Eutyrians"). In the sixth century Basil of Antioch (or Cilicia), Timothy Aelurus (a Patriarch of Alexandria) and Ioannes Diakrinomenos wrote from monophysite points of view (INGLEBERT 323), similarly → Zacharias Scholasticus, of whose *Church History* however only fragments survive in the *Church History* of → Evagrius Scholasticus, who in turn was a staunch Chalcedonian. Zacharias' work also survives in an anti-Chalcedonian Syriac *Epitome* written in the late 560s by a monk from Amida (Northern Mesopotamia). Another example of the now rapidly emerging (anti-Chalcedonian) Syriac tradition is the work of → John of Ephesus, who wrote in or around Constantinople after the mid-530s (intriguingly supported by the

emperor Justinian) providing "a reinterpretation of the whole of church history for ... the expanding anti-Chalcedonian or monophysite church" (CROKE 2007, 576).

Finally, in the first decades of the sixth century the Byzantine → Theodorus Lector, named after his office of Reader (*lector*, ἀναγνώστης) at the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, wrote a compilation entitled *Selections from the Church Histories* (ἐκλογή ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν). This refers to the *Church Histories* of → Socrates, → Sozomen and → Theodoret. For each section of his account, which covers roughly the period from Constantine the Great (306) to Theodosius II (440), Theodore chose a version from one of these authors as his main version and noted variant accounts from each of the other two authors in the margins. Thus he created a tool that was to prove immensely useful both for textual and historical criticism. In addition he wrote his own account for his own time, from the 440s through the death of Theodosius II (450) and the reign of Anastasius (491–518) to the accession of Justin I (518).

Apart from being a masterpiece in its own right Theodore's compilation gained further importance by being translated into Latin by → Epiphanius Scholasticus under the direction of → Cassiodorus. This seems to have happened not long after Theodore's death and most probably still in Constantinople. The translation became known in the Latin West as *Tripartite History* (*Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*) and served as the standard treatment for the period concerned until the Greek originals became known in the West in the sixteenth century (BEATRICE).

6. Conclusion

Thus the centuries which one might still justifiably call the "period of 'early Christian historical writing'" draw to a close. → Evagrius Scholasticus, writing in the second half of the sixth century, is commonly seen as "the last of the succession of ecclesiastical historians" (CROKE 2007, 577). Like his predecessors he used a wide range of works by earlier authors, not only church historians but also "secular" historians like → Prokopios of Caesarea and even classicizing pagan historians like → Zosimus, and, of course, chronicles (like that of → Ioannes Malalas). This illustrates to some extent how in Late Antiquity an educated

elite (presumably by and large Christian) must have read across the different literatures which in modern accounts are divided into sections: "→ Classical historical writing", "Christian historical writing", or "(narrative) histories" and "chronicles".

Interestingly, the work of → Theodorus Lector seems to have gone unnoticed by later Greek historians including → Zacharias and → Evagrius, and it is now only extant in fragments (excerpts and summaries). Its impact in the West however, through → Epiphanius' translation, was enormous, especially since it was the first continuation of → Eusebius' *Church History* in Latin since → Rufinus'. The Latin tradition, as we saw, had taken a different direction since the times of → Orosius, → Augustine, → Salvianus of Marseille and others, and it was to differentiate itself further from the East in times to come. Despite the bridge building function of → Cassiodorus, the kind of learning displayed by later western historians such as → Isidore of Seville, → Maximus of Zaragossa, → Bede and others, was in many respects different from the equivalent forms of learning in the East.

The present account was intended not to emphasize this differentiation too strongly, but to highlight the common features of "early Christian historical writing" and "early Christian historiography", its common Jewish (Hellenistic apologetic as well as biblical) heritage, its indebtedness to the Classical (Greek and Latin) tradition, the Greek universal chronicle tradition as well as the narrative historical traditions in Greek and Latin literature. There is also a common background in the New Testament and related context and in the second century apologetic movement down to Hippolytus, Julius Africanus and Eusebius. This background, common to the Greek and Latin as well as Oriental (including Jewish and Islamic) traditions, seems to have warranted the present approach and hopefully commends early Christian historical writing as one of the major traditions from which the Medieval Chronicle emerged.

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JOSEF LÖSSL

Ebendorfer, Thomas

1388–1464. Austria. Professor of theology at the University of Vienna. Author of six historical works in Latin, *Cronica regum Romanorum*, *Cronica Austriae*, *Catalogus presulum Laureacensium*, *Tractatus de scismatibus*, *Hystoria Jerusalemiana* and *Cronica pontificum Romanorum*.

The *Cronica regum Romanorum* was commissioned by Frederick III in the run-up to his imperial coronation in 1451. This chronicle was Ebendorfer's starting-point as an historian. The work, written in the years 1449/50, stretches from the first empire of the Assyrians to contemporary history. Each account of a major emperor is rounded off by a moralizing conclusion, called a *directorium*. The author is eager to classify them as bad or good emperors. As the chronicle grew too large, Frederick asked for a condensed version which Ebendorfer appended as book seven.

The *Cronica Austriae* was originally planned as book seven of the imperial chronicle. In about 1450 Ebendorfer decided to write a separate history of his native country. Beginning with the dubious origins in the Roman epoch, he laid the main focus on contemporary history. Ebendorfer never stopped continuing his work and wrote addenda in the form of a diary up to December 1463. As a preparatory work he translated the chronicle of → Leopold von Wien at the request of Frederick III. After dissociating himself from the emperor, he dedicated the chronicle to the studying youth of Austria. Autobiographical digressions and hints at archeological remains make the chronicle fascinating reading.

The *Catalogus presulum Laureacensium* was designed parallel to the Austrian chronicle. Eben-

dorfer started to work on an ecclesiastical history of the region which pertains to the diocese of Passau. He follows the legendary account of the ancient origins of the diocese given by Albert → Behaim, identifying Passau with ancient Lauriacum (Lorch in Upper Austria). → Berchtold of Kremsmünster is used as a source.

The *Tractatus de scismatibus* was written after the death of the last antipope in 1451. Ebendorfer, a staunch defender of conciliar authority, gives an account of disputed papal elections and ecclesiastical schisms. By counting 24 instances he succeeds in qualifying his own period as unexceptional.

The *Hystoria Jerusalemiana* was motivated by the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Ebendorfer relates the history of the first and third crusade. Basing his narrative on → Robert the Monk and the → *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* he aims at making an appeal for a renewed effort in crusading.

The *Cronica pontificum Romanorum* was written in the last years of his life (1458–63). This papal chronicle from the beginnings to 1463 completed his historical oeuvre. Relying on Pierre Bohier's version of the → *Liber pontificalis* and on → Andreas of Regensburg, he gives a critical account of papal history and openly appreciates the Pseudo-Joachite prophecies.

Ebendorfer's knowledge of medieval historiography is very profound indeed. He used more than seventy historical texts, which he treats in an entirely compilatory fashion, appropriate to his scholastic mind, which was unaffected by the humanist movement. He is important as an attentive and discreet observer of his own time. Present at the Council of Basel and working as a counsellor to emperor Sigismund, Albert II and Frederick III, he was particularly well-informed about the ecclesiastical and territorial politics of his time. In spite of his services to the Hapsburgs, his loyalty was not tied to any particular person. Most enduringly he adhered to his native country, to his social class—the much afflicted peasants—and to the conciliar movement. Beginning his historiographical career as a moralizing educator, he ended up writing history *pro mea consolacione* or *pro mea informacione*, for his own benefit. Apart from the *Cronica Austriae*, which was more widely read, most of his works remained unnoticed and are known by the autograph manuscript only: Vienna, ÖNB, cvp 3423.

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KARL UBL

Eberhard von Gandersheim

early 13th century. Germany. Eberhard was a priest (*pape, diaconus*) attached as chaplain to the convent at Gandersheim, who acted as notary in a number of documents. At the time, the Abbess Mechtild I was in bitter dispute with the Bishop of Hildesheim, who challenged her independence. Eberhard appears to have supported her in a number of ways, possibly including forging a foundation charter of the convent. In 1208, Innocent III confirmed the status of the *Gandersheimer Stift* as subject only to the Holy See.

In 1216–18, Eberhard composed the *Gandersheimer Reimchronik* (Gandersheim Rhymed Chronicle), or as the heading in the manuscript calls it, *De fundatione Gandersemensis ecclesiae*. The first historical work ever penned in Low German, it runs to 1954 lines of rhyming couplets, arranged into a prologue and 41 *capitula*. It falls into two parts. Part 1 (cap. 1–17) recounts the foundation of the convent by Count Liudolf and his wife Oda, the grandparents of Henry I, and tells something of their family history. Part 2 (cap. 18–41) follows the descent from Liudolf to contemporary rulers, at times losing sight of the connection to Gandersheim. There are prose catalogues of emperors, popes and abbesses of Gandersheim, and a verse panegyric to Mechtild. Eberhard is at pains to list the privileges (*hantfeste*) of the convent granted by various popes, kings and emperors. In particular, his claim that the 9th-century Pope Sergius II exempted the convent from episcopal jurisdiction is intended

to reinforce Mechtild's contention *dat et iemer fri unde ledich were / von allen heren, de bischop dome gewalden; / wen alleine de stol to Rome schölde behalden / de geistliken gewalt över sin stichte* (that it was always free of overlords, of the power of the diocese, for only the throne in Rome should have power over its foundation, 310–4).

Eberhard draws, perhaps heavily, on a Latin chronicle based on → Widukind of Corvey and a Gandersheim foundation history, both of which are lost; hence his work is a more important source for the early history of the monastery than has often been realised. He also used archive documents. Despite early speculation, → Hrotsvit of Gandersheim does not appear to be a source. The *Reimchronik* survives in one manuscript: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 503 Helmst. (15th century). It was used as a source for the → *Braunschweigische Reimchronik*, and for the 16th-century historian Heinrich Bodo von Clus.

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GRAEME DUNPHY

Eberhard von Regensburg
[Archidiaconus Ratisponensis]

ca 1290–1305. Germany. Archdeacon in Regensburg. Continued the *Annales* of → Hermann of Niederaltaich.

Eberhard was born in Niederaltaich at an unknown date. In 1270 he returned prematurely from university due to his weak health. He recovered, and some time between 1282 and 1285 he received his master's degree in Paris. From 1289 he is attested as archdeacon in Regensburg. He died on the 25th or 27th of May some year after 1305, the last entry of his *Annales*. Like Hermann von Niederaltaich, Eberhard frequently added copies of important documents to his annals, especially papal bulls, but otherwise fell back on his own experience and on hearsay. His main subject is imperial history but Eberhard also takes an interest in Austria, Bohemia and Bavaria, and especially mentions events of Regensburg's history.

Three versions of the continuation are known. KEHR considers all of them to be Eberhard's own work. In the manuscript which contains the original of Hermann von Niederaltaich's *Annales* (Vienna, ÖNB, 413), we find two of these versions, the so called Altaich and Regensburg continuations. The former covers the years 1273–91, the latter 1287–1301. The third version of the continuation reaches to 1305 and has come down to us in such copies as Munich, BSB, clm 4352. Eberhard compiled the first version about 1290 and the second about 1297, borrowing from the first. Probably around 1304 he resumed work for a third time, using and at least partly correcting his earlier versions.

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ALHEYDIS PLASSMANN

Ebner, Christine

1277–1356. Germany. Author of the Engelthal sisterbook in German prose. Christine was born in Nuremberg to a well-placed family. From the age of fourteen she was a nun at the Dominican convent of Engelthal (near Nuremberg), from 1345 prioress. She wrote the convent's → sisterbook, entitled *Von der genaden uberlast* (On the abundance of His mercy), often referred to as a "convent chronicle" by modern scholars. Though it is basically a compilation of 47 nuns' lives, Christine promises to tell *dez closters ze Engelthal anvank und die menig der genaden gotes die er mit den frawen getan hat an dem anvang und nu sider* (the beginning of the convent of Engelthal and the mercy God has shown to it from then until now). There are two manuscripts, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, cod. 1338 and Vienna, Schottenkloster, cod. 308, fol. 84^r–119^v, and some excerpts in the Kirchberg Sisterbook. Inspired by her confessor Konrad von Füssen, Christine also left an autobiography and a collection of revelations.

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Ebran, Hans, von Wildenberg

ca 1430–1501/03. Germany. A politician from a noble house, he composed a German language chronicle of Bavaria in Burghausen (Lower Bavaria) between 1479 and 1493.

Hans Ebran came from a Lower Bavarian noble family who were interested in literature: his brother Heinrich Ebran also wrote a chronicle. Hans took part in seven campaigns of Duke Ludwig der Reiche of Landshut, and was knighted in 1462. A member of the ducal council from 1463, he held an important position in the ducal administration as a trained legal practitioner. From 1474, he was tutor to the duchesses Amalia and Hedwig and under Duke Georg, he was curator of their residence at Burghausen.

Hans undertook extensive historical studies with the help of two learned priests, who made excerpts and translations from his sources, for he himself had no Latin. In 1479 he completed the first version of his chronicle. However, he continued to study his sources and, around 1490–3, he wrote a second, extended version which runs to the death of Duke Ludwig der Reiche (1450–79), and enjoyed several continuations. The chronicles provide a history of Bavaria and its rulers from their legendary origins, incorporated into the history of the world and of the empire. From the account of the enfeoffment of the Wittelsbachs as Bavarian Dukes (1180) onwards, the Wittelsbach genealogy gives the text its shape, a structural approach borrowed from Ebran's major source, the Bavarian *Fürstenchronik* of → Andreas of Regensburg. The account of the history of the

second half of the 15th century depends to a great extent on his own knowledge and experience. The focus, however, is not just on the Bavarian princes but also the "Haus Bawaria", the land of Bavaria itself, which, following the *Sachsenspiegel*, is understood as an ancient kingdom.

Despite his loyalty to his princes, whose ancestry he glorifies and whose memory he seeks to enshrine, Ebran is not sparing in his criticism of the misconduct of some princes, whom he wishes to remind of their duties as rulers towards the "Haus Bayern" using historical examples as in a "mirror of princes". Only in the history of the princes whose reigns he has lived through does he practise restraint; he does not cover the reign of Duke Georg (1479–1503) at all. As the first layman to compose a Bavarian chronicle, he wrote from the perspective of the noble ruling class.

The first version survives only in very late transcriptions, but there is one important manuscript of version II: Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, cod. fol. 78 appears to contain corrections in Ebran's own hand. Although only a few manuscripts survive (two from the end of the 15th century and one from the 16th), the chronicle was used by later Bavarian historians and thus found its way into the subsequent tradition of Bavarian historical self-construction.

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BIRGIT STUDT

Edlibach, Gerold

24th September 1456–28th August 1530. Switzerland. Author of a town chronicle of Zürich. He also published one of the oldest glossaries of Rotwelsch, the German underworld slang.

Edlibach was born in Zürich as the son of the *Amtmann* (administrator) of the monastery at Einsiedeln. Little is known about his educational background and career. He married Ursula Röist in 1471 and had 18 children with her. Through the help of his stepfather he was appointed administrator of the Einsiedeln properties in Zürich in

1472 and held this post until 1480. From 1487 onwards he was repeatedly member of the Little Council of Zürich and its "Seckelmeister" (treasurer), and in 1488 he was appointed Obervogt (superior administrator) in Bülach. After his stepfather had been ousted from office, Edlibach also lost his position temporarily. He was Landvogt (county administrator) in Grüningen 1494–98, and in Greifensee 1505–1507. He rejected the Reformation, especially that of Zwingli, and voluntarily withdrew from his administrative posts in 1524.

Edlibach copied and illustrated several miscellany manuscripts, but he is best known for his *Zürcher- und Schweizerchronik* (Zürich, ZB, A 75, W 3 AG 21, A 164, et al.) covering the time from 1431 to 1530, drawing in part from Diebold → Schilling Jr.'s notes for a Swiss chronicle. Edlibach began to write his chronicle in 1485/1486, and he continued, after a considerable hiatus, from 1517 until his death in 1530. Towards the end, the chronicle increasingly consists only of short notes. It presents the history of Switzerland from the Zürich perspective, and is illustrated by the author himself. Overall, Edlibach wrote his chronicle in a popular, easily readable style, obviously appealing to a wider urban audience.

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ALBRECHT CLASSEN

Egher, Heinrich, von Kalkar [Calcarensis]

1328–1408. Germany. Mystic and musical theorist, and author of one chronicle. Studies in Cologne and Paris (1357 Magister artium). From 1362 canon in Cologne (St. Georg) and Kaiserswerth; joined the Cologne charterhouse in 1365. He held several offices in the order, amongst others *vistator* in *Alemannia inferio*, 1376/7–95. He may also have participated in Geert Grootes' *conversio* in Monnikhuizen (1368). Returned to Cologne in 1396, where he died 20th December 1408.

Egher wrote the *Ortus et decursus ordinis cartusiensis*, a history of the Carthusian order, finished in 1398, which according to Werner → Rolevinck, who wrote an introduction in a manuscript of Egher's texts, was very popular within the order itself: *postea in ordine plurimum multiplicatus et authenticatus* (Darmstadt, UB & LB, cod. 710, fol. 1^r; VERMEER's edition follows this manuscript). Though openly glorifying his order and justifying its cloistral rigour, Egher is mostly fairly credible in his historical depictions, though he often embellishes these with miracle reports. Among other sources he used the Carthusian chronicle → *Quoniam* and probably the → *Laudemus*, which was attributed to him until VERMEER (77–83) demonstrated otherwise, as well as Guigo's *Vita S. Hugonis Gratianopolitani* for the early history of the order. Several times he draws on → Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum*, Arnald of Villanova, and Johannes Andreae's *Novella*. His use of all these sources is very free and shows "zijn eigen persoonlijk karakter" (VERMEER, 49). A number of papal documents are included in excerpts.

The reception of the *Ortus* was remarkably broad. Soon after his death an unknown friar combined large parts of it, together with the *Quoniam*, to form a new history of the Carthusian order, which was however far less popular than his original work. Among those who later used his text were Dominicus of Prussia (refers to Egher as *diligens Cartusiensium [...] explorator*, cf. Trier, StB, cod. 751/299, fol. 131^r), Arnold Havensius, Nikolaus Molin, Petrus Dorlandus, and many others. Charles Le Couteux, the Carthusians' most prominent historian, frequently refers to Egher. Yet contemporary reception seems to have been rather limited outside the Carthusian order. Egher is said to have been the most influential German Carthusian beside Ludolf von Sachsen. There are nineteen extant manuscripts, and another seven lost but verifiable (VERMEER, 61–76; RÜTHING, 92f.). The most important manuscript for most of Egher's works is Darmstadt, UB & LB, cod. 819, written in 1504 by the Cologne Carthusian Gobelinus Speck (Laridius); this notes variants from several other manuscripts, almost like an early attempt at a critical edition of Egher's works (*Ortus* on fol. 123^v–165^r).

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Einwik Weizlan von St. Florian

ca 1240–1313. Austria. Augustinian canon of St. Florian, near Linz. Prior 1295–1313. Einwik is the presumed author of a Latin chronicle of the consecration of the abbey known as the *Kirchweihchronik*, and also wrote a life of the anchoress Wilbirg.

The *Kirchweihchronik* was originally written upon a chart or board (tabula) in the abbey church to instruct and guide visitors and pilgrims. It begins with a unique version of the life of the early Christian martyr Florian, structured around the topography of the local area. It then describes the early churches on the site of Florian's tomb; the reconstruction and first period of growth under prior Altmann (d. 1221/23); the catastrophic fire of 1235 and collapse of the monastery in 1250; and the troubled construction of the new abbey in the years before its consecration in 1291. Einwik details the four days of ecclesiastical ceremonies associated with the episcopal consecration of the abbey church in June 1291 at length. The first day, designated for the reconciliation of penitents from the local area, was the occasion of a stampede outside the church that crushed eleven women to death. Einwik interprets their death and immediate burial in the new church as an entirely positive event. He accords to them the status of martyrs, who were able to receive their absolution in heaven from Christ directly, and commends the good fortune of the abbey in acquiring the bodies of such martyrs.

The second half of the chronicle lists the altars in the church, organised according to the status of the patron to whom they are dedicated. Einwik lists the saints' relics preserved in each altar, which are very numerous, and the indulgences attached to them. His stated intention is to illustrate that every saint might be venerated in the church, so extensive is its collection of relics. He demonstrates a strong concern to locate the visitor within an encompassing topography of radiant sources of spiritual power—relics, the reserved sacrament, and local sites associated with miracles. The lists of relics incorporate short, informative asides, which include notes on the contemplation of the image

of the crucified Christ; on the translation of the bodies from the former cemetery into the present crypt; and on the anchoress Wilbirg, whose vita is recommended as 'further reading' for the interested visitor. The sole manuscript (St. Florian, Stiftsarchiv, cod. 101 a, 7^a-12^m) and the modern edition of the chronicle concludes with the contents of two further tabulae, originally located in two separate chapels, which were not part of the text from Einwik's principal tabula.

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STEPHEN MOSSMAN

Ekkehard IV of St. Gallen

ca 980/990-after 1057 (21. October). Switzerland. Author of an important Latin chronicle. Ekkehard was a pupil of Notker III of St. Gallen. After 1022 he spent a longer period at Mainz, then became magister, poet and scholar at the monastery of St. Gallen.

Ekkehard's *Casus Sancti Galli* (Events of St. Gallen) is a continuation of → Ratpert of St. Gallen's work of the same title. It was written in St. Gallen under abbot Norpert (1034-72) and was probably Ekkehard's last work. For reasons which the later anonymous continuators (*Continuatio casuum S. Galli*) do not state, the *Casus* remained unfinished. Ekkehard covers the period from abbot/bishop Salomo III (890-919) to abbot Notker (971-75). Historical facts are not of crucial importance for the chronicle; it contains various biographical and anecdotal episodes besides the *fortunia et infortunia* (thus the *Proloquium*) of the monastery, mainly on the basis of oral tradition. HELLGARDT has pointed out the importance of the rule of Benedict and the *Initia Consuetudinum* for the understanding of the text, as the *disciplina* is its central theme.

The *Casus* survive in one manuscript of the 12th/13th century (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 615). The five other manuscripts are significantly younger and are derived from the Sangalensis 615. *Editio princeps*: Melchior Goldast, 1606. Excerpts from the *Casus* are also transmitted in the *Vita Notkeri Balbuli* (see → Notker Bal-

bulus). J.V. v. Scheffel used the *Casus* for his novel *Ekkehart* (1855).

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NORBERT KÖSSINGER

Ekkehard of Aura

[Ekkehardus Uraugiensis]

d. post-1125. Germany. First abbot of the Benedictine Abbey at Aura an der Saale (Bavaria) and author of a *Vita Burchardi* and a *Chronicon universale*. Presumably born into an old-noble (*edelfrei*) family linked to the Aribonen, Ekkehard joined Welf of Bavaria's crusade (1101). After becoming a monk at Tegernsee (1102/3), he attended the Synod of Guastalla (1106) as a member of Henry V's delegation. Between his appointment as first abbot of Aura (1108) and the consecration of the monastery in 1113, Ekkehard stayed at St. Burchard in Würzburg, where he wrote a *Vita Burchardi*.

Ekkehard's main work, a chronicle existing in four versions, is based on → Frutolf von Michelsberg's world-history, which he became familiar with in Bamberg in 1105. Apparently dissatisfied with Frutolf's account of the crusade, Ekkehard erased the entries on 1098 and 1099 in the autograph (Jena, UB & LB, ms. Bos. q. 19), replaced them with his eyewitness accounts and continued the chronicle until 1106 (version I: *Chronicon universale ab O.C. usque ad a. 1106*). In 1107 he dedicated a copy with an extended entry on 1106 to Henry V (version II). Although II is not transmitted as a separate work, its existence can be inferred from the → *Anonymi chronica imperatorum Heinrico V dedicate* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 373, long thought to be Ekkehard's work, which reworked II for its account of

Henry V but added information from → Sigebert of Gembloux.

The dedication letter from version II is preserved in version III, a copy Ekkehard produced for Erkembert of Corvey. This version, which survives in four manuscripts, including the 12th-century Berlin, SB, lat. fol. 295, continues to 1116. It is modelled structurally on the *Chronica imperatorum* and uses the latter directly in the accounts for the years 1107-13 while also drawing on Sigebert and collecting reports on the crusades in a separate book (*Hierosolymita*) at the end. In subsequent years, Ekkehard combined the second and third recensions and continued his chronicle until 1125 (version 4). In this form, Ekkehard's work was vastly influential for later chronicles, including → Otto of Freising and → Burchard of Ursperg, and became one of the chief sources for German history for the years 1080-1125.

Ekkehard and Frutolf stand for contrary concepts of historiography. While Frutolf aims for a sober, universal history, Ekkehard's main interest lies with local and contemporary history, which he reports in a passionate, religiously zealous and often propagandistic fashion. This shows particularly in his attitude towards the emperors, Henry IV and Henry V. As a supporter of the Hirsau Reform, Ekkehard backed Henry V, and interestingly it was only the schism of 1118 which caused disillusionment with the emperor's policies.

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Literature: *RepFont* 4, 305.

KERSTIN PFEIFFER

Ekloge historion

[Ἐκλογή ἱστοριῶν (Selections from history)]

9th and 12th century. Byzantium. An anonymous universal chronicle in Greek, surviving in two versions. Version (a) must have been composed under the reign of the Emperor Basileios I (867-86). Presumably it originally ran from Creation to Emperor Anastasius I (491-518), but now it ends with the Old Testament king Uziah

of Judah. Version (b) is identical with (a), but it continues to the year 1118. The author claims to have used the chronicles of Sextus → Iulius Africanus and of → Eusebius of Caesarea, though no borrowing can be verified. Long passages are common with → Ioannes Malalas, but there are also some differences to him. Manuscripts: (a) Paris, BnF, cod. gr. 854, fol. 71-99 (13th century); Vatican, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 175 (17th century); (b) Vienna, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 133, fol. 118-125 (13th-14th century).

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LARS MARTIN HOFFMANN

Ekthesis chronike

[Ἐκθεσις χρονική (Chronological consideration)]

early or mid-16th century. Byzantium. An anonymous chronicle of the years 1392-1517. We do not know where it was composed, but it is written in a quite low level of style particularly close to the vernacular language. A later version was continued up to 1543.

The chronicle records the last decades of Byzantium, as well as the Ottoman conquests in the Balkans and the social interaction of Christians and Ottomans after the fall of Constantinople (1453). Sources include → Doukas and Georgios → Sphrantzes. The text was later incorporated almost in its entirety into the *History of the Patriarchs* (1454-1578) composed by Manuel Malaxos (died ca 1581/82). The most important manuscripts are: Vatican, BAV, cod. gr. 1759 (16th century); Oxford, Lincoln College, cod. 10 (16th century); Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου, cod. 754 (1564).

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LARS MARTIN HOFFMANN

Eleazar bar Judah ben

Kalonymos

[Roqeah]

ca 1165–ca 1230. Germany. Jewish liturgical poet and scholar in the fields of *halakhah*, theology, ethics, and exegesis in Mainz, and from ca 1190 in Worms. Author of the celebrated *Sefer ha-Roqeah* (book of the ointment mixer), and also of a Hebrew prose chronicle about the persecution of Jews during the Third Crusade in 1187–88 in Mainz.

In the chronicle, Eleazar first describes an allegation of attempted murder of a Christian and a general ritual murder accusation which were levelled against the Jews in Mainz on 7th August 1187. Although not explicitly stated, these accusations were probably made in response to the battle of Hattin (in July). Eleazar views the eclipse of the sun on 4th September 1187 as presaging a looming disaster. According to Eleazar, the news about defeats and destructions among the Crusaders' cities—among others Eleazar mentions Acre—then triggered several attempts at persecution in Mainz. Eleazar reports how he, together with Jews of Mainz, Speyer, Strasbourg, Worms, Würzburg and other cities, took refuge in the fortress of Münzenberg. In his report about the events in Mainz, he refers to a letter of his brother-in-law Moshe bar Eliezer who stayed behind in Mainz. Eleazar emphasizes how the Jewish community was threatened and attacked by crusaders attending the *Hoftag Jesu Christi* (i.e. *Curia Christi et peregrinorum*) in March 1188 in Mainz, but was saved by the intervention of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, his son, and trusted men. The report ends abruptly with the return of the Jews from Münzenberg in April 1188.

The only extant manuscript (Moscow, Российская государственная библиотека, ms. Guenzburg 614, 14th century) continues with Eleazar's report about the attack on himself and his family in 1197 in Worms by two crusaders who killed his beloved wife Dulcia and two daughters. He adds a famous elegy (*kinah*) about their life and death.

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EVA HAVERKAMP

Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi

[Lipman of Osnabrück]

early 14th century. Germany. Jewish compiler of the *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, a Hebrew universal chronicle. Eleazar states in many places throughout the book that he founded his work on an earlier chronicle of Yerahme'el ben Solomon, a 12th-century Italian historian and poet. The question of what parts of this work belong to early 12th-century Italy, and what to 14th-century Germany, has not yet been solved fully.

The autograph codex (388 folios) was possessed from the 15th century by wealthy Jewish families in Italy, until it was purchased in 1887 by the Bodleian Library (Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Heb. D. 11). It contains the earliest universal chronicle in Jewish culture which corresponds in time and place to the period of European universal chronicles—Germany between 1250 and 1350. The importance of the chronicle is found in its historical scope, its choice of materials and its literary structure. It starts with the creation of the world, goes on with the history of biblical Patriarchs, the Exodus from Egypt, the destruction of the Temple (drawn from the *Sefer Yosippon* of → Yoseph ben Gurion) and the exiles, the chronicles of the martyred Jewish communities at the time of the Crusades (→ Eliezer bar Nathan, → Ephraim bar Yaqob), and ends with the End of Time: the coming of the Messiah and the messianic times. Thus, the Book of Memory constructs a "closed" sequence of Jewish history, from its beginning until it ends under the direct rule of God.

The essence of this work is compilatory: except for a personal introduction and a few phrases that connect the texts, nothing original was written by Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi. The whole work is based on a careful selection from earlier works arranged in chronological order. Thus the book

could be regarded as an anthology of historical texts. By this type of construction the author suggests that the reliability of his work is based not on his own observations, which in the Middle Ages were considered dubious, but solely on authoritative texts from earlier authors. The manuscript includes many medieval Hebrew works unknown from other sources.

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ELI YASSIF

Elhen, Tilemann, von Wolfhagen

[Ehlen]

1347–post 1411. Germany. Member of a family from Ehlen (Kassel), probably trained as a lawyer at Wolfhagen; active as notary public in Limburg from 1370, town scribe in 1394. Author of the *Limburger Chronik*, also named by Wigand → Gerstenberg (15th century) as author of a lost *Hessenchronik* which may have been a reworking of the same text.

Written in a West Middle German dialect, the prose *Limburger Chronik* is preserved in ten manuscripts of the 15th–18th centuries, in two stemmatic groups; the best is Braunfels, Fürstlich Solmsisches Archiv, *historica* 101, 10–12. *Editio princeps* by Johann Friedrich Faust (Heidelberg 1617). The narration spans the years from 1335 (wrongly recorded as 1336) to 1398. We are told (chapter 13) that Elhen has been collecting material since he was 30 (since 1377), and plans to end the chronicle with the year 1402; the text gives no indication why the last four years are missing. In fact, the actual writing process took place much later than 1377 (chapter 35, dealing with the year 1354, was written in 1394), which explains the text's many chronological inaccuracies; its unconventional format more than compensates for these.

The driving force behind Elhen's writing is personal testimony to what he has himself seen and

heard, and this makes his text episodic but original in conception. In the introduction he justifies his intention of writing what is well known to his contemporaries because this will prevent its loss; consciousness of what has been lost in the past leads him to a heightened awareness of what is present. Thus he concludes a description of the 1349 flagellant pilgrimages with an exhortation to readers to learn from flagellants' errors: *sage daz dinen kinden, obe ez me not gesche uf erden ober dise hondert jar oder hernach, daz si sich darvor huden*, (tell your children, so that if it should ever happen again, be it in a hundred years or more, they will beware).

The events recorded are largely laconically portrayed feuds and skirmishes, in which the narrator's loyalties lie with Limburg and the emperor; natural catastrophes and omens; and outbursts of mass hysteria like the dancing mania of 1374, which in Elhen's opinion is a deception (*duisserie*) foreshadowing the approach of Antichrist. Eschatological comments are however rare; he writes in an engaging, at times almost conversational style, and is fond of rounding episodes off with an educational Latin proverb and its German translation. There is a consistent interest in the use of sensory detail to evoke forgotten experiences. This can take the form of set descriptions intended to give a vivid impression of character (Konrad von Falkenstein's magnificently wide, red cheeks puff up when he is justly angry, a 'noble' knightly trait) or of bygone fashions in clothing, armour and headgear and how it felt to wear them. Especially important for the recreation of memory are the quotations from popular songs, each linked to a specific year. For his contemporaries, the songs must have been a richly associative and personal door to the past; for modern readers they provide fascinating information about how songs were used in 14th-century Germany.

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MICHAEL SHIELDS

Elia bar Shinaya [Elias of Nisibis]

d. after 1019. East Syrian. As Bishop of Nisibis (modern Nusaybin), Elias composed his chronicle in 1019, in Syriac with a parallel Arabic translation for the canons. His *Opus chronologicum* is the only major Nestorian chronography to survive in Syriac. Elias was born in Shenna in 975 (hence his identification as Elia bar Shinaya) and studied at the monastery of Mar Michael, near Mosul. He wrote primarily in Arabic, but used Syriac for a number of liturgical prayers. He was metropolitan of Nisibis from 1008 to 1046. His brother, Abū Sa'īd Mansūr ibn 'Isa, was a celebrated physician; both men are buried in the church at Maipherkat.

The *Opus chronologicum* consists of an account with dates of the house of Adam, lists of patriarchs, kings and catholicoi and a chronicle of memorable events. Dates are given using the Seleucid era and Olympiads. Hegira dates are also used. The layout of the manuscript is similar to that of → Jacob of Edessa. Information is given in a table from right to left with the year (multiple calendars are used, hence multiple colours) in the far right column, then a column for sources (in red) and finally the lemmata in the left column (in black). The lemmata are extremely short, but important because they preserve parts of earlier, lost sources. In the second, longer part Elias discusses various chronological problems like a concordance of Syrian, Egyptian and Persian years, a table synchronising Arab months and Syrian years, and the calculation of Easter and other feasts. He refers to most of his sources, including Syrian Orthodox, by name, including → Eusebius of Caesarea, → John of Ephesus, → Jacob of Edessa, and many more. He also used Arabic and Sasanian sources.

There are two surviving manuscripts. London, BL, add 7197, and Berlin, SB, Sachau 108.

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l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, fasc. 181, 1910 [French translation].

JAN VAN GINKEL
MEREDITH RIEDEL

Elias of Trickingham [Threckingham]

13th century? England. Elias was once thought to be the author of Latin annals for 626–1268 preserved in London, Lambeth Palace, 1106, fol. 112^r–20^v because his name appears several times on the first page. JAMES discounted the attribution, however, and thought Elias was an owner who was practicing writing his name.

After giving introductory information about the ages of the world, the annals begin with Pope Gregory's sending Paulinus to preach to the Anglo Saxons in 626. The early entries relate to Peterborough Abbey and Huntingdon Priory. JAMES believed that the chronicle was written in the Augustinian priory at Huntingdon and then passed on to Ramsey abbey, since the last entries were written there. This chronicle is not considered to be of much value although it was edited with a substantial introduction in the 18th century.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Eliezer bar Nathan of Mainz

ca 1090–1170. Germany. Jewish liturgical poet and scholar, writing in Mainz. Author of a Hebrew prose chronicle on the persecution of Jews in Germany during the First Crusade (1096).

Eliezer's chronicle contains a series of accounts of the persecutions in Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Cologne (and several surrounding locations); the epilogue mentions persecutions in Trier, Metz, Regensburg and in Prague. Similarities in text and overall structure with the chronicle of → Solomon bar Simson derive from an otherwise unknown chronicle that both authors used as a model. Besides editing the language, Eliezer added some detailed information and verse lam-

entations (*qinot*) after each local account, with acrostics indicating his authorship. Since there is no mention of the persecutions of Jews during the Second Crusade, Eliezer probably composed his work before 1146.

The accounts themselves and Eliezer's additions highlight the dramatic martyrdoms (*Qid-dush ha-Shem*) of Jews whom crusader gangs and burghers threatened with death and forced baptism. Eliezer's account and lamentations were probably recited during the liturgy of *Tisha B'Av* and the local memorial days of the 1096 persecutions. A list of the 1096 martyrs of Worms was already attached to Eliezer's and Solomon bar Simson's model chronicle and was handed down with Eliezer's account.

The memorial tradition of the 1096 events and more favourable conditions for their material survival account for the relatively high number of manuscripts, each with a very different transmission context. The oldest surviving text was copied by → Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi before 1335 into his *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Heb. D. 11). Further manuscripts are Oxford, Bodleian, Opp. Add. 4^o 178; New York, collection M. Lehmann, D 121; Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et Universitaire, Hébr. 45; Moscow, Российская государственная библиотека, ms. Guenzburg 1395; Amsterdam, UB, ms. Rosenthal 50; London, Montefiore Library, 475. As early as the 13th-century. Eliezer's chronicle was transmitted together with the chronicle of → Ephraim bar Ya'qob of Bonn. At least three other known manuscripts are lost.

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EVA HAVERKAMP

Elišē

[Yeghishe]

6th century. Armenia. Author of *Vasn Vardanay ew Hayoc' Paterazmin* (On Vardan and the Armenian War), an account of the 5th-century Armenian uprising against Persian rule. Like the

work of → Agat'angelos, the history of Elišē is a work that is almost certainly more than a century removed from events, by an author who nevertheless claims to be an eyewitness; also like that of Agat'angelos, Elišē's text became a central part of the received tradition of Armenian history. Elišē tells the story of the Armenian uprising against the Sasanian Persian shah Yazdgerd III, sparked by Persian attempts to force the Armenians to abandon Christianity and return to Zoroastrianism. The rebellion was led by the prince Vardan Mamikonean, and culminated in the defeat and death of much of the Armenian nobility at the Battle of Avarayr in 451. The events of the uprising are also covered by → Lazar, whose account gives very similar factual information. Elišē's is an overtly literary work, however; his primary themes are the importance of the covenant binding Armenians to Christianity and to their ancestral traditions, and the parallel of the Armenian revolt to that of the Jews under the Maccabees. His other source influences include the *Vkayk' Arewelic'* (Martyrs of the East), an Armenian version of Persian martyrdoms; earlier Armenian discourses of theology such as that of Eznik; and Philo of Alexandria.

The date of composition of Elišē's work is still a matter of debate. Although a tendentious tradition about his life had sprung into existence by the late middle ages, making him the eyewitness he claimed to be, the evident dependence of Elišē on Lazar and on the mid-6th century Armenian translation of Philo argue for composition after 550. There exists an interesting parallel in the history of → John of Ephesus, who gives an account of Persian persecution of Armenian Christians in 572 that is strikingly similar to Elišē's account of 450/1; this suggests that John, or his Armenian informants, were already influenced by Elišē's text.

The earliest surviving manuscript of the history, Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran, ms. 1890, dates to 1172.

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TARA L. ANDREWS

Ellenhard

ca 1225/50–1304. Germany. Commissioner of a codex containing key Latin texts about the history of the Holy Roman Empire and the city of Strasbourg in the second half of the 13th century. Around 1290–9 Ellenhard had a codex compiled (St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsarchiv, 25.4.15) with natural, religious and historical knowledge for Strasbourg's leading circles (*ministeriales*), to which he himself belonged. The *Bellum Waltherianum* records the great victory against the bishop of Strasbourg in the battle of Hausbergen (1262) where Ellenhard was one of the city's military leaders. The Empire history focuses on the Habsburg kings Rudolf and Albrecht, whereas King Adolf of Nassau is marginalized. The pro-Habsburg tendency was a result of the close alliance between Strasbourg and Rudolf during the war against the bishop in the 1260s. The highly rhetorical chapter about Rudolf was written on Ellenhard's order by the notary Gottfried von Ensmingen in 1290. Rudolf appears as a dominant commander, as a strict judge and as a keeper of the peace, personally legitimated by God. This codex was the first attempt to approach historical writing from a municipal point of view, an approach which strongly influenced later chroniclers at Strasbourg and in southern Germany for centuries.

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JOACHIM SCHNEIDER

Elmham, Thomas

1364–ca 1427. England. Monk of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (Benedictine). Latin prose chronicles and verse *Vita* of Henry V. He was treasurer of the abbey in 1407, studied at Oxford, in 1414 became a prior of the Cluniac house of Lenton, near Nottingham, and became chaplain

to Henry V. He wrote his first work, the *Speculum Augustinianum*, a history of St. Augustine's Abbey, now extant in an autograph manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity Hall, ms. 1, while living at the abbey. His name appears in an acrostic in the introductory section. He uses word-play and alliteration, and he is aware of anti-clericalism, which lends a defensive tone to his chronicle. It is possible that he wrote it before joining the Cluniac order. His plan for the work was ambitious in scale: he prefixed it with an elaborate table in nine columns, which indicated that he planned to cover the years 597 (when the missionary Augustine arrived in Kent) to 1414, although the history itself ends in 806 and is followed by documents from 1066–1191. His sources range from → Bede and → William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* to Thomas → Sprott and William → Thorne, but he also used "spurious charters" forged about 1070 which have been contested.

Elmham went to France in 1415 as the king's chaplain and was present at Agincourt. Upon return he compiled the *Cronica Regum Nobilium Angliae* (London, BL, Cotton Claudius ms. E.iv; unedited), listing the kings of England from Brutus to Richard II. Its British section is based on → Geoffrey of Monmouth. He also wrote the *Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto* (London, BL Harley Roll ms. Z 19). He did not write the *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti*, which Thomas Hearne mistakenly attributed to him in his 1727 edition of this work (see → Lives of Henry V).

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RALUCA RADULESCU

Ely Chronicle

[Brief Notes of Occurrences under Henry VI and Edward IV]

1450–1500. England. Latin with a few later entries in Middle English. Extant in one manuscript, London, Lambeth Palace, ms. 448 (1462–1500). KENNEDY notes that this chronicle, written at the Benedictine abbey at Ely, consists primarily of careless and factually inaccurate historical

notes on events between 1307 and 1464, but also points out that some of the inaccuracies appear to reflect contemporary rumours. The entry for 1446–47, moreover, offers unique information about the possible murder of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and the entries for 1459–64 present important details about the end of the reign of Henry VI and the beginning of Edward IV's.

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Literature: KENNEDY, *MWME 8*, 2701–2, 2927.

RALUCA RADULESCU

Emo

ca 1175–1237. Low Countries. Author of a Latin monastic chronicle. Emo was of high Frisian birth, studied in Paris, Orleans and Oxford. He was subsequently active as schoolmaster in Westeremden and parish priest in Huizinge, but took up monastic vows ca 1209, to help his uncle Emo of Romerswerf with the foundation of the new monastery of Wittewierum (*Floridus Hortus*) at Holwierde near Groningen, where he became first abbot. Due to his efforts, the monastery was incorporated into the Premonstratensian order as a daughter of Prémontré itself. After a few years he moved his canons into the new building complex in Wittewierum.

Emo's *Cronica Floridi Horti* is a history of his monastic house. The first part of this prose chronicle is devoted to the foundation history and the early years of the monastery. It ends with a lively story of a *familiaris* of him on the first lap of the Frisian crusaders on their way to Acre in 1217. The second part of the chronicle offers a series of elaborate *soliloquia*, alternated by annalistic notes on the monastery and important events in Frisian society. In the passages of self scrutiny Emo shows himself worried about the state of his soul, looking for comfort in the works of church fathers, leading theologians and canonists. Seeking, for instance, reasons why a great storm flood made thousands of victims in Frisia in 1219, one of the possibilities he considers is that he himself might have evoked Gods anger by asking entrance fees of potential novices for his still poor monastery. Although his theologically based answers are not

very original, the questions reveal enough of his personality as a spiritually uncertain but energetic abbot in a remote coastal area of Northwestern Europe.

Emo's *Cronica* found its continuation in the *Chronicon* of his pupil → Menko, which in its turn was continued by an anonymous author. Both chronicles are transmitted together in two manuscripts; the one for the greater part written by Menko (Groningen, UB, 116, 13th century), the other being a later copy (Groningen, UB, hs. 117).

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JOHANNES MOL

Emond de Dynter

ca 1370/80–1449. Low Countries. Secretary of the dukes Anton of Burgundy (d. 1415), John IV (d. 1427), Philip of Saint-Pol (d. 1430) and Philip the Good (d. 1467). From 1442 canon of Saint Peter's chapter in Leuven.

The *Chronica nobilissimorum ducum Lotharingae Brabantiaeque et regum Francorum* is by far the most important chronicle written by Emond de Dynter. It divides history into 6 periods and deals with Brabant history from the Trojan origins of the ducal house until 1442. It not only mirrors the vivid Brabantine chauvinism in the years following the Burgundian acquisition of Brabant, but also is one of our most important sources for the eventful history of Brabant in the first half of the 15th century. As ducal secretary, De Dynter himself was involved in many of the events he describes.

The genesis of the *Chronica* can be meticulously followed thanks to the survival of many autograph annotations and tryouts. As sources, De Dynter used → Jan van Boendale's *Brabantsche Yeesten* and the continuation to this chronicle, for which he himself acted as an informant, together with → Petrus de Thimo. For the older history he used Andreas Sylvius' *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum*, → Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* and the anonymous → *Rijmkroniek van de Grimbergse oorlog*. In 1445 or 1446 Emond dedicated his chronicle to Philip

the Good of Burgundy, for which he received 200 Rhine-guilders in 1447. A few years later Philip had the *Chronica* translated into French by Jean → Wauquelin.

The main manuscripts of this chronicle are Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief / Archives de l'État, Chambre des Comptes 4, 10, 11 (autograph annotations); Kortrijk, Stadsbibliotheek, Fonds Goethals-Vercruysse, 159, fol. 1^r-399^r; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 70 inf., fol. 4^r-432^v.

Most of Emond's other works are abstracts from or finger exercises for the *Chronica. Mutatio antiqui et ordinatio novi regiminis* is an autograph notebook (Brussels, KBR, IV 687), which Emond compiled for the rhymester of the continuation of the → *Brabantsche Yeesten*. Brussels, KBR, 5753-5759 contains more autograph texts by De Dynter. His *Vita clarissimi principis Philippi a Burgundia* was printed in Strasbourg in 1529.

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ROBERT STEIN

End of King Edward III and of his death

15th century. England. English translation of a presumably lost Latin account. The beginning of the chronicle is in BL, Harley ms. 247, entitled in Stow's handwriting *Liber S. Alban*; the remainder is in BL, Harley ms. 6217, entitled, also in a later hand, *An Historicall Relation of certain passages about the end of Edward III, and of his Death*. A new chapter about a "new brotherhoode at St. Albons" terminates unfinished after ca 200 words. The presumed Latin source of the chronicle was probably written at the Benedictine abbey of

St Albans soon after Edward III's death. It gives a partisan account of events in the streets of London and the king's chamber between the Good Parliament of April 1376 and Edward's death on 21st June 1377. It is informed by fear of the abuse of "the kynges symplycýtye" (235) by followers of John of Gaunt. Modern readers are likely to be moved by the description of attitudes towards the suffering king.

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THEA SUMMERFIELD

Engelhus, Dietrich

ca 1360-1434. Germany. Author of a world chronicle in Latin and German versions and a number of smaller chronicles of Erfurt and Saxony. Also wrote theological works and a glossary. Born in Einbeck to a wealthy family, Engelhus studied in Prague (MA 1389) and Erfurt (Bacc. theol. ca 1395). From 1406/07 he was headmaster of the grammar school in Göttingen, but enrolled in 1410 at Erfurt university. From 1413/14 he worked as notary for the city council of Göttingen, travelling as a legate at least until 1422. He is then unattested until 1434, when he became a *presbyter donatus* at the convent of canons at Wittenburg (west of Hildesheim), where he died.

Engelhus is known primarily as the author of a prose world chronicle (in several versions) from the creation until his own lifetime. The first version, *Speculum seu imago mundi*, was finished in 1423. The German *Weltchronik*, the author's own abridged translation of the Latin text, was completed in 1424. In 1426/29 Engelhus revised the Latin chronicle as the *Nova chronica* and expanded it until he died. Matthias → Döring later continued it to 1464, and others to 1497/98. The world chronicle assembles material from more than 85 classical and medieval sources (listed by NASS, 400-419). From the incarnation onwards, the narrative focuses on the history of Christianity under the Roman Empire and draws a clear line from the Roman emperors via Charles the Great to the Saxon emperors. The second main theme of the chronicle is the fate of the Saxon

tribe and the history of Engelhus' native region, which he often depicts in great detail. Frequently his prose is interrupted by verse citations from his sources. The original *Speculum* survives in five manuscripts, the oldest of which is: Dresden, LB, mscr. J 47 (1423). The *Weltchronik* is known only in Wolfenbüttel, HAB, cod. 30.8 Aug. 4^o (1435). The *Nova chronica* exists in two recensions with four and two manuscripts respectively, the oldest being Göttingen, SB & UB, cod. ms. hist. 63 (1432); and Hanover, SB, ms. mag. 147 (1436). See KÜHNE, 119-126 for a full catalogue. No version of this chronicle has to date received a critical edition, and the vernacular text has never been printed at all.

A number of smaller chronicles have not been properly researched. Engelhus' oeuvre includes two town chronicles: *Chronica Erffordensis anni 438-1351*, and *Chronica Erffordensis Civitatis anni 438-1422*, known in four manuscripts, the oldest and best of which is Dresden, SB, mscr. J 47 (1423). There is also an *Origo Saxonum et terre Saxonie commendatio*, a compilation about the origin of the Saxons, the geography and history of the country, drawing on Aegidius of Viterbo, Dietrich → Lange, and Heinrich → Rosla's *Herlingsberga*. We have this in a manuscript which contains the autograph of some of his other works, but only a copy of the *Origo*: Hanover, LB, ms XIII 859 (ca. 1420/30; postscriptum, post 1434). Three further texts by Engelhus, the *Cronica Engelhusen que est magis moderna*, the *Chronicon breve latinum*, and the *Imperatorum ex... ducum Brunsvicensium domo oriundorum vitae* seem to be mostly excerpts and adaptations of the world chronicle.

The chronology of Engelhus' works is precarious. It seems he started with theological and educational themes both in Latin and German during his time as teacher in Göttingen: *Expositio psalterii* (1406), *Biblia metrata* (1407), *Kunst wol to stervende* (The art of dying well, pre-1409), *Regule der leyen* (Rules for the laity, pre-1409?), *Lilium virginitatis* (pre-1411). The *Postilla Engelhusen* (pre-1422?) also falls into this thematic context. At this time he also created his famous glossary *Vocabularius quadriidiomaticus* (pre-1412). In the administrative and political service of the city of Göttingen, his interest seems to have changed to legal and historical topics. He indexed the codified law of the city alphabetically with German-Latin synonyms (the *Ordinarius*) and worked on his chronicles. His last work may be the *Promptus*, an encyclopedia of the *septem artes* and medical, legal and theological topics.

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BRIGITTE PFEIL

English conquest of Ireland

15th century. Ireland. This prose chronicle in a presumably Anglo-Irish dialect of Middle English, is an account of Henry II's conquest of Ireland (1166-85), adapted from → Gerald of Wales' *Expugnatio Hibernica*, which Gerald had first written before Henry II's death in 1189 and later revised for King John. Gerald's Latin history continued to be read by English and Anglo-Irish readers of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Five manuscripts of the English version survive, all of which omit Gerald's concluding discussion of troops needed to conquer the Irish and how the Irish needed severe but moderate governors. They instead conclude with an account of the Irish conspiring against the English so that *castellis in many Places weryn caste doune, and many men Slayn*. Sir George Carew (1555-1629), who owned one 15th-century manuscript (London, Lambeth Palace Library, Carew 598), ascribed the translation to one Thomas Bray. FURNIVALL's parallel text edition is based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Rawl. B 490 and Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 592 (E.3.31). A one-folio fragment in the mid-15th century Oxford, Bodleian Library,

ms. Laud misc. 526 appears to be an independent translation from Gerald's account. See also → *Geste des Engleis en Irlande*.

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RALUCA RADULESCU

Enguerrand de Monstrelet

ca 1390–1453. Northern France. Author of a French *Chronique* covering the period 1400–44. Enguerrand de Monstrelet was born in Ponthieu (Western Picardy), probably to the lower nobility. He served Jean de Luxembourg as *bailly* of Compiègne, became *prévôt* of the episcopal city of Cambrai in 1444 and *bailly* of Walincourt (near Cambrai) in 1445. Writing in Cambrai, as he notes in the preface of book I, Monstrelet conceived his chronicle as a continuation of → Froissart's *Chroniques*, which had covered the years 1327–1400, but whereas the Froissart enjoys great attention, Monstrelet and his various continuations remain much used but poorly studied and in need of a critical edition.

This lengthy chronicle, written on the author's own initiative, has often been criticised for his alleged indigestible style and his Burgundian bias. However, Monstrelet produced a generally very accurate account of events of the Anglo-French-Burgundian conflicts of the Hundred Years War from 1400 to 1444, for which he is a major source. Less literary than Froissart, Monstrelet is more factual. In spite of occasional mistakes and a certain vagueness about his sources, he became a model for 15th-century historians in his factuality and trustworthiness. His own observations and oral statements of others are important sources. He includes some Latin and French official documents in his text and repeatedly shows himself to value the confrontation of sources, but he does not actually name many of the works he consulted.

The *Chronique* is divided in two parts. Book I starts at Easter 1400, where Froissart ends, and continues up to Charles VI's death on 22 October 1422. Book II continues the account until the

Truce of Montils-les-Tours signed on 28 May 1444. Monstrelet died before he could write a planned Book III. In many manuscripts and all the editions, a *Tiers livre* (third book) is added covering 1444–67. The fact that the text ends on 15 June 1467, at the death Philip the Good, indicates a shift of focus from the French monarchy to the Burgundian dukes. The work was continued by → Mathieu d'Escouchy and at least one anonymous author. Later authors who used Monstrelet liberally include → Jacques du Clercq, → Jean de Wavrin, → Jean Lefèvre de St Rémy, and Georges → Chastelain.

The author presented his text in 1447 to duke Philip the Good, but most surviving manuscripts are datable between 1470 and 1510. Judging from surviving manuscripts and printed editions, Monstrelet's *Chronique* remained remarkably popular throughout the period 1470–1520 and had an important revival in the last three decades of the 16th century. His supposed anti-French position did not prevent the text of his *Chronique* becoming the basis for a series of Paris editions completed with histories of the reigns of the French Kings from Louis XI onwards. At least a dozen manuscripts are known of Book I, half a dozen of Book II and a dozen of an abridged version, the *Chronique abrégée*. Key manuscripts include Paris, BnF, fr. 6486 (Book I; dated 1454), BnF, fr. 2683 (Book I), BnF, fr. 2681–2682 (Books I–II).

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HANNO WIJSMAN

Enríquez del Castillo, Diego

1431–1503. Castile (Iberia). Chaplain of Enrique IV of León and Castile, his chronicler from 1460 and a member of his council. Author of a Castilian-language *Crónica de Enrique IV*.

He was the only historian to focus with any objectivity on the figure of this monarch, so harshly criticized by Diego de → Valera in his *Memorial de diversas hazañas* and especially by Alfonso Fernández de → Palencia in his *Gesta Hispanensia*, a work from which the *Crónica anónima castellana* was derived. These three works were constrained by the struggle for the succession and impinged on the king's helplessness to promote the candidacy of the infantes Afonso and Isabel to the throne. Unlike these politically slanted narrations, Diego Enríquez remained loyal to the crown without falling into disproportionate praise of Enrique. On the contrary: he lauds him in the first years of his reign, and criticizes him later, when the monarch gave into the demands of the ambitious Juan Pacheco, who is revealed as responsible for the destruction of the kingdom.

Diego Enríquez was unable to achieve a uniform edition of the chronicle because it was taken away from him when Segovia fell to the rebels in 1467. The chronicle was delivered to Palencia, who sent it to the archbishop Carrillo in order to compare its words with what his party considered to be the truth. The chronicler survived, but he had to rewrite his work, adding also much earlier events. In this way his narration acquired an exemplary character and followed a double annalistic structure to order the facts: the first decade (1454–64) is considered the period of "the king's prosperity", while the second (1464–74) defines the "time of adversities". There are almost one hundred manuscripts, of which Madrid, BNE, ms. 1782 is perhaps the best.

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FERNANDO GÓMEZ REDONDO

Ephraem of Ainus

early 14th century. Byzantium. Author of a verse chronicle of Roman and Byzantine Emper-

ors, written in iambic trimeters and in highest level of Greek language. Unfortunately we have little exact information about Ephraem, though he was probably born at Ainos (now Ezes in European Turkey). This assumption is based on the old library catalogue of the Vatican, which has listed the work since the 16th century as 'Εφραῖμ Αἰνίου χρονική ιστορία (Chronicle of Ephraem from Ainos); presumably this must have been taken from earlier catalogues or from the manuscript itself. Unfortunately, the first two folios of the manuscript were lost in early modern times, so that any author information in the text itself has been lost. However, an appendix to the chronicle listing patriarchs of Constantinople from the Apostle Andrew to the patriarch Esaias (1323–34) leaves the impression that Ephraem may have finished his work during the decade of Esaias' rule.

The surviving chronicle runs to about 9588 verses. In accordance with Byzantine tradition one can assume that the text originally started with Julius Caesar, but as we have it, it begins with the Emperor Caligula whose name is shortened to Gaius. From there it follows the line of emperors chronologically, and the end is marked by the recapture of Constantinople by Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus on 15th August 1261. Emperors before Constantine I receive a relatively cursory treatment, only about 300 lines each, but the text becomes fuller and more detailed as it comes nearer to the lifetime of its author. One exception is the extensive report of the events of the first period of the Byzantine iconoclasm (726–87). Other events from church history are also highlighted, so that scholars have supposed that Ephraem must have been a cleric.

The language and style of the author are of a relative high level, indicating that he must have had a very good education. The verses mostly are composed in a correct manner, though Ephraem was familiar with Byzantine tricks, such as adding characteristic suffixes at the end. As historical sources Ioannes → Zonaras, Niketas → Choniates and Georgios → Akropolites have been identified, but a literary connection to Konstantinos → Manasses, the author of the only other chronicle in classical Greek verses, can not be demonstrated. The only medieval manuscript is Vatican, BAV, cod. gr. 1003 (after 1342/43); a late copy of this exists in Vatican, BAV, cod. Barber. gr. 146 (17th century).

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LARS MARTIN HOFFMANN

Ephraim bar Yaqob of Bonn

1132–post-1196. Germany. Jewish liturgical poet and scholar, who wrote the chronicle *Sefer Zekhirah* (Book of Remembrance) probably during the 1170s, and continued it until 1196. With an allusion to the horrific experiences of Jews during the persecutions of the First Crusade (1096), Ephraim describes the persecutions in 1146/47 by crusaders of the Second Crusade. His chronicle is the only extant Hebrew report of the events. He also inserted verse lamentations (*qinot*) into his chronicle.

Ephraim attributes the threat against the Jews to the preaching of the Cistercian monk Rudolf, and the survival of communities to their refuge in fortresses and to the intervention of Bernhard of Clairvaux. About his own survival, he reports having been in the castle of Wolkenburg with his family at the age of thirteen. According to his account, killings of individuals took place outside of the castles, near Cologne, Mainz, Worms, and Bacharach. Ephraim concludes his report on Germany with a description of the persecutions of Jewish communities in Aschaffenburg and Würzburg. Large numbers of killings are reported for Ham, Sully, Carentan, and Ramerupt in France. Ephraim explains that more persecutions were prevented by the remission of debts owed to Jews by the King of France, and that the King of England saved the Jews there altogether. The *Sefer Zekhirah* ends with an epilogue and a reference to the return of the forcibly baptized to Judaism in 1147.

Ephraim's additions to his book are a collection of reports on local persecutions in Blois

(1171), Boppard (1179), London (1189), and York (1190). He then describes the burning at the stake and the *Qiddush ha-Shem* of Jews in Bray (1191) as well as the trial against Jewish money exchangers in Cologne in 1171. After pointing out the protective policy of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa towards the Jews in the wake of the fall of Jerusalem, he reports on the persecution of Jews in Neuss in 1187. Although Ephraim lived at the time in Neuss, he had travelled to Cologne three days before and thus survived the persecution. This personal note ends with his last colophon in the chronicle. Nevertheless, the concluding report in the transmitted text is probably also written by Ephraim. It is an account of events in 1196, the killing of R. Solomon, the administrator of finances at the court of count Leopold V of Austria, and the persecution of Jews in Speyer and Boppard by crusader bands.

The oldest surviving text was written by the copyist → Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi before 1335 into his *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Heb. D. 11). Further manuscripts are Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Opp. Add. 4° 178; Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et Universitaire, Hébr. 45; Moscow, Российская государственная библиотека, ms. Guenzburg 1395; Amsterdam, UB, Rosenthal 50; and London, Montefiore Library, 475. At least three further known manuscripts are lost. Ephraim's chronicle was transmitted as early as the 13th century together with the chronicle of → Eliezer bar Nathan of Mainz, which probably functioned as Ephraim's model.

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EVA HAVERKAMP

Epiphanius scholasticus

6th century. Byzantium (Thrace). Translator of Greek texts into Latin. Epiphanius belonged to → Cassiodorus' circle in Constantinople and around the middle of the century, encouraged by Cassiodorus, translated the *Historia tripartita*

(Tripartite History) into Latin. He also translated biblical commentaries, notably by Didymus the Blind, and the *Codex Encyclicus*, a collection of letters addressed by various synods to the emperor Leo I in defence of the Council of Chalcedon.

Epiphanius' ecclesiastical compendium, entitled fully *Historiae ecclesiasticae tripartitae epitome*, was an abridged synopsis of the church histories of → Socrates Scholasticus, → Sozomen and → Theodoret of Cyr, which had been compiled by → Theodorus Lector some decades earlier under the title ἐκλογή ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ιστοριῶν (Selections from Histories of the Church). Although criticised by Pope Gregory the Great, the *Historia tripartita* became a standard work of church history during the Middle Ages, alongside → Rufinus' translation of → Eusebius' church history. It was an important source for later medieval historians such as → Frechulf of Lisieux, → Haimo of Auxerre or the → *Historia pontificum Romanorum*. In the 14th century it was translated into German by → Leopold von Wien (called Stainreuter in earlier scholarship). Its influence conceptually is also reflected in → Anastasius Bibliothecarius' 9th-century *Chronographia tripartita*, likewise a Latin version of three different Greek historians. The work lost somewhat in importance after the original Greek texts of church histories from which it was drawn became more widely available in the West from the 16th century onwards. But its value for reconstructing the texts of these histories and also as a source in its own right, containing much independent material, is still regarded as considerable.

The *Historia tripartita* is extant in at least 138 manuscripts the oldest of which is St. Petersburg, Российская национальная библиотека, lat. F. I. 11 (early 9th century), followed by Naples, BN, plut. VI D 18; Leiden, UB, VLF 62; and Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, lat. 302 (all 10th century). The *editio princeps* was published by Beatus Rhenanus with Johannes Froben in Basel, 1523.

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JOSEF LÖSSL

Epitome de caesaribus

ca 395. Italy. A short set of anonymous Latin imperial bibliographies from Augustus to Theodosius I, written shortly after the death of the latter. The work is a complicated mix of Aurelius → Victor, → Suetonius, the → *Kaisergeschichte*, Marius Maximus, → Eunapius, and other sources (though not Nicomachus Flavianus as is so often stated). It was used by several later epitomators, such as → Paul the Deacon and → Landulf Sagax, but it had little influence until the modern period, even though it was known to various medieval authors. There are a number of manuscripts that range from the 9th to the 15th centuries, mainly from the 10th and 11th, notably the 'Codex Gudianus' (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 84 Gud. lat., 10th century).

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Eratosthenes

ca 285–ca 194 BC. Egypt. Tutor for the children of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–241) and head of the Alexandrian Library (from ca 245). Eratosthenes composed his Greek *Chronographiae* (Χρονογραφία), the first carefully researched, detailed universal chronology of Greek history, from the Trojan War (1184 BC) down to

Alexander, using olympiads (from 776 BC) as a unifying chronological system. In pursuit of more accurate chronology, he first composed his own list of Olympic victors, the Ὀλυμπιονίκαι. Eratosthenes gave the chronicle respectability and authority, and his chronology became the yardstick against which all later chronologies were measured.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Erchanbert

fl. 826. Germany. Author of the *Breviarium Regum Francorum*, a brief history of the Franks from their legendary origins in Troy to 826. Up to 727, Erchanbert compiled the Neustrian recension of the → *Liber Historiae Francorum*, and probably knew the continuations of → Fredegar. From 614 onwards, he juxtaposes the mayor of the palace to the respective Merovingian king. The chronicle is chiefly remarkable for its energetic maligning of the old dynasty after 741, culminating in the fictitious papal verdict on the last Merovingian as *nec sibi nec aliis utilis est* (he was of use neither to himself nor to others). It was perhaps written in Alemannia, later continued by → Notker Balbulus in St. Gallen. There are two manuscripts, Stuttgart, Württembergische LB, Cod. iur. 4° 134 (10th century, written in St. Gallen, including the continuation) and Vatican, BAV, Reginensis 713 (a fragment). The first incomplete print was by Marquard Freher in 1613.

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SÖREN KASCHKE

Erchempert

fl. 881–9. Italy. Benedictine monk in Montecassino, from Benevento (South Italy). Author of the *Ystoriola* (*Little History*), a work in Latin prose with a verse inscription, which describes the events from the political decline of the Dukedom of Benevento (787) to the creation of the Principality of Salerno (889). Erchempert himself contrasts the little *Ystoriola* with the larger *Langobardorum Historia* of → Paul the Deacon. One of the few surviving documents on the Langobardia Minor, Erchempert’s chronicle plays a prominent role in the wave of local histories that characterized the two centuries from the death of Charlemagne to the death of Henry II, and preserves the memories of a man with first-hand knowledge of persons and events. The best manuscript is the 13th/14th-century Rome, BAV, lat. 5001.

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FULVIO DELLE DONNE

Ericus Olai

d. 1486. Sweden. Uppsala canon. A theologian who acquired the reputation of a saint. Author of the *Chronica regni Gothorum*, (Chronicle of the kings of the “Goths” [= Swedes]). Ericus studied in Rostock (MA 1452) but was later in life (1475) made Master of Theology in Siena. His ecclesiastical career developed within the Uppsala cathedral chapter, where in 1479 he advanced to the deanery. He taught theology at Uppsala University from its first year in existence, in 1477. His known

works cover areas of liturgical poetry (a rhymed office for the Swedish patron saints) and biblical hermeneutics and commentaries.

The *Chronica regni Gothorum*, a work completed after 1471 and arguably intended for the clerical readership of his cathedral, is Sweden’s first national history in Latin prose. Ericus aimed to compile a history of the realm from the birth of Christ to his own time following the “succession of Uppsala kings and bishops, the *duplex principatus* (twofold rule). Important sources were the → *Compendium Saxonis* and various rhymed vernacular works. The *Chronica* reflected contemporary tendencies towards a political mobilization around the concept of the Swedish realm and argued for the importance of Uppsala in the history of this political entity.

Five manuscripts of the *Chronica* remain. The first, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, D 9, stems from 1508. Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, E 3, from 1528, includes additional material. Apart from the manuscripts, no pre-reformation reference to the *Chronica* is known. The first print, Messenius (Stockholm 1615), was incited by an interest in its Gothicism form of patriotism. It was partial and omitted the claims to clerical superiority that Ericus propagated in his prologue.

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BIÖRN TJÄLLÉN

Erikskrönikan

(Erik’s Chronicle)

1320s. Sweden. A rhymed chronicle in ca 4500 lines of Swedish *knittel* (doggerel verse), covering the whole history of Sweden, but focussing on the exploits of Eric, Duke of Södermanland, brother of King Birger Magnusson.

Drawing on information from written documents, oral tradition and his own observations, the anonymous author chronicles Sweden’s history from the middle of the 13th century to the election of Magnus Eriksson in 1319. The perspective is aristocratic. It is the history of *herra ok första* (lords and princes), the most prominent being the members of the Folkunga dynasty, from duke Birger (d. 1266) to King Magnus, and

their opponents and allies within and outside the realm. Negotiations, feasts, battles and tournaments are depicted in the style of courtly models, but vividly and with a certain freshness, whilst the hardships of the crusading expedition to Finland in the 1290s are described with many naturalistic details.

The main part concerns the disputes between Birger and his brothers, Erik and Valdemar, in the early 14th century. Erik is the hero in this part of the chronicle. He is described as chivalrous, generous and a lover of pomp and magnificence but also as a clever politician. Together with his brother Valdemar, he took King Birger captive at his manor Håtuna in 1306 and forced him to divide his kingdom with them, an event known as the Håtuna game. Birger’s revenge eleven years later forms the dramatic climax of the chronicle. Having invited his brothers to celebrate Christmas with him at his castle in Nyköping, Birger receives them with great friendliness and hospitality, and then, in the middle of the night, enters their room with armed men, addressing them with the ominous words: *Minnes ider nakot aff Håtuna lek?* (Do you remember anything of the Håtuna game?). Erik and Valdemar are taken prisoners and thrown into jail, where they starve to death.

In describing Birger’s treachery, the chronicler alludes to Judas’s betrayal of Christ. He ends his work with Birger’s downfall and replacement by Erik’s son Magnus, aged three: *Wil Gud innan himmerike / han ma wel werda faders like* (May God in heaven grant that he resembles his father). In this way, the chronicle expresses the ideology of the aristocratic circle around the young King Magnus in the 1320s. In those years Erik’s secretary, Tyrgils Kristineson, was still active, and he has been proposed as the author.

The historical outlook of *Erikskrönikan* is influenced by chronicling in Latin on the continent. Stylistically however, it is inspired by the Swedish romances known as the *Eufemiavisorna* (Eufemia poems), composed 1303–12, and German literary models and courtly customs of wider continental origins. The Eufemia poems were written on the initiative of the Norwegian Queen Eufemia, whose daughter married Erik.

The oldest manuscript is Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, cod. D 4, written ca 1450.

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OLLE FERM

Ermolin Chronicle

[Ермолинская летопись]

late 15th century. Russia. Chronicle compilation preserved in a single copy (Moscow, Российская государственная библиотека, ф. 173/I, № 195.2). The main text covers events up to 1481 and is continued by additions for the years 1485–8. The chronicle contains information on the building activities of the architect Vasilij Ermolin for the years 1462–72, hence its title. Its text goes back to sources it shares with the Muscovite princely chronicle compilation of 1479 (see → *Muscovite Chronicle Compilations*), abridged chronicle compilations, the → L'vov Chronicle and others. It is especially the second part of the chronicle which is of historical and literary interest since it resembles the so-called abridged chronicle compilations and contains several rather rash judgments on the politics of the Muscovite princes. The source for this part of the Ermolin Chronicle remains disputed. Proposed sources include the *Rostov episcopal compilation* (A.A. Шахматов), the *Compilation of the St. Cyril monastery at Beloe Ozero* (Belozersk) (Я.С. Лурье) and the *Rostov chronicle compilation of the princess Marija Jaroslavna* (Б.М. Клосс).

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ALEXEI ALEXEEVICH GIPPIUS

Ernst von Kirchberg

14th century. Germany. Author of *Mecklenburgische Reimchronik* (Rhymed Chronicle of Mecklenburg), 1378/9. Ernst, an official in the chancellery of Albrecht II of Mecklenburg Schwerin (1329/36–1379), belonged to a knightly family of Niederhessen. The chronicle has come down to us in one magnificent illustrated manuscript

(Schwerin, Landeshauptarchiv, ms. 1.12–1), with 15 completed miniatures and space for a further 46. This long vernacular verse work, running to a total of 28,000 lines, falls into 185 chapters, and was commissioned by Albrecht in 1378. Situated stylistically between historical and courtly literature, it presents the history of the principality of Mecklenburg from its beginning in Slavonic Carolingian times up to recent local history and princes like Otto and Hermann of Brandenburg. The first part of the chronicle is a free rendering of the *Slawenchronik* of → Helmholt of Bosau; other sources include the *Chronica Slavorum* of → Arnold of Lübeck, the → *Sächsische Weltchronik*, the *Doberaner Genealogie* and oral traditions. The *Reimchronik* is the first comprehensive account of the history of Mecklenburg, and was clearly intended as an expression of princely power. For this reason, the text has a strong dynastic element designed to strengthen the legitimation of the ruling house. It is also a powerful expression of princely identity and self-confidence in the 14th century.

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GESINE MIERKE

Ertman[n], Ertwin

ca 1430–1505. Germany. Born the son of a middle-class brewer, studied law in Erfurt (from 1443, never graduated), later confidant and liege of Bishop Konrad III of Osnabrück (from 1457), important legate of town and Hansa, later also mayor (1477–1503).

His *Cronica sive catalogus episcoporum Osnabrugensium*, written 1480–1505, gives not only the history of the town and diocese of Osnabrück from the times of Charlemagne until 1454 (a lost first version: to 1441), but frequently also includes information on the dioceses of Münster, Minden,

and Utrecht as well, and therefore serves as a primary source for Westphalian history generally. Ertmann was probably the first Westphalian historian to strive for systematic and comprehensive use of extant sources, many being inserted within the text; though he was not overly exerted about objectivity towards his episcopal patron. This makes him especially interesting for local historians. It remains a puzzle why Ertmann gave no account of his own times.

The *Cronica* was translated into Low German on behalf of Osnabrück town council by Bernhard von Horst (ca 1550/55), later continued by Dietrich Lilie (OSB) to the year 1553. The Latin text was a source for → Florenz von Wevelinghoven, → Hermann of Lerbeck, and Anna Roede's chronicle of abbey Herzebrock. In 1688 it received an *editio princeps* by H. Meibom (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum II*, 195–264). Four manuscripts of the Latin text survive (e.g. Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 231 Gud. lat.). The Low German version exists in 24 manuscripts (cf. RUNGE, pp. XX ff.).

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Erweiterte Christherre-Chronik

(Expanded chronicle with incipit 'Christ the Lord')

post-1375. Bavaria-Austria. An incomplete world chronicle in some 57,000 lines of Middle High German verse, running from the creation to the beginning of the Biblical book 4 Reg. (= 2 Kings) in the tradition of the → *Christherre-Chronik*, → Jans der Enikel and → Rudolf von Ems. It is the immediate predecessor of the old testament part of the *Weltchronik* associated with → Heinrich von München, and is possibly

the work of the same compilation workshop as the first version (*Erstfassung*) of Heinrich.

The text of the *Erweiterte Christherre-Chronik* is for the most part a compilation of the *Christherre-Chronik* (to its fragmentary end at the beginning of the book of Judges) and the world chronicles of Jans and Rudolf (including the first continuation of Rudolf). With the exception of a very few later lines, Jans-Enikel Text is only found in the *Christherre* section, whereas Rudolf is exclusively used for the continuation from Judges to Kings. Near the end of the Rudolf text, the *Erweiterte Christherre-Chronik* departs increasingly from this source, finally going over to an independent verse translation of the *Vulgata* and the *Historia scholastica* of → Peter Comestor. Towards the end of this independent section, a versification of the German prose → *Buch der Könige alter ê* was also worked in. The main section also has many additions from other sources, most importantly an 11,500-line account of the Trojan war based on Konrad von Würzburg, which is inserted into the book of Judges.

The traditional title reflects the old assumption that the compilation was produced by adding texts from other sources to a pure *Christherre*-text. In fact it is based on an earlier compilation, the so-called *Enikel-Christherre-Mischtext*. This is a complete text of the *Weltchronik* of Jans with the *Christherre-Chronik* worked into the section from Genesis to Judges. The *Erweiterte Christherre-Chronik* uses this *Mischtext* as far as Judges, then turns to other sources and independent composition. Thus the so-called *Erweiterte Christherre-Chronik* arose in the context of the transmission of Jans Enikel, but goes radically new directions. Its carefully reworked structure according to *aetates* and biblical books points beyond the fragmentary end. This text is more than a collection of material; it is conceptually and structurally a decisive step in the direction of Heinrich, the first version of which adopts large parts of this text virtually unchanged.

The *Erweiterte Christherre-Chronik* exists in just three manuscripts, of which Linz, LB, cod. 472., a vellum manuscript of the 14th century, is not only the oldest but also the closest to the original compiler: it is either the archetype (PLATE) or a faithful copy of it (RETTELBACH). With 400 coloured miniatures, its illustrative programme is the fullest of any of the German world chronicles of the 14th century.

The identity of one of the scribes of the Linz manuscript with that of a fragment of the first version of Heinrich von München, which has been established paleographically, speaks for their origin in a single workshop, where not only the manuscripts and the illustrations were produced, but the text-compilation itself. The slight reception of the *Erweiterte* text may thus be explained by the assumption that the craftsmen who produced it quickly moved on to the larger project, of which it became a part.

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RALF PLATE

Eschenloer, Peter

ca 1425–81. Germany. Town chronicler and translator of chronicles. Born in Nuremberg, Eschenloer studied from 1442 in Leipzig (MA 1448). After teaching at the Latin school in Görlitz (from 1450), he served as town clerk (*Stadtschreiber*) in Breslau (Wrocław) from 1455 until his death (12th May 1481). Between 1463 and 1466, by order of the town council, he translated Eneas Silvius → Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica* and the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of → Robert the Monk into German (Prague, Knihovna Národního Muzea, Nostitz 6; Wrocław, BU, IV F 105). His Latin *Historia Wratislaviensis* (History of Breslau), written 1463–1472, covers the years 1438–1472; the presumed autograph was lost in the second world war (Wrocław, former Breslauer StB, R 591). The focus lies on the conflict about the Bohemian crown under Ladislaus Posthumus and George of Podebrady and its impact on Silesia. Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica* is the main source for events before 1455. More than three hundred documents and letters are inserted unabridged. After 1472, Eschenloer wrote an enlarged and continued German-language version (Wrocław, BU, IV F 151a; thirteen other manuscripts) ending in 1479. Both versions seek to legitimise the politics of the town coun-

cil, but Eschenloer, often eyewitness of the events reported, also exercises his personal judgment.

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KLAUS KIPP

Estoires d'Outremer

[et de la naissance Salehadin] (Stories of Overseas and of the birth of Saladin)

13th century. French. This anonymous prose text, probably compiled in North-East France in the second quarter of the century, gives an account of crusade history from 1099 to 1230, drawn from the → *Chronique d'Ernoul* or a closely related text. The account is enlivened by two fictional interpolations detailing the supposed descent of Saladin from the Countess of Ponthieu and his dubbing as a Christian knight ("Order of Chivalry"). Narrative pace takes precedence over accuracy in the historical narrative, which after 1197 is so abbreviated as to be almost incoherent.

There are two extant late 13th- or early 14th-century illustrated manuscripts, Paris, BnF, fr. 770 and 12203, both produced in North East France, and one 15th-century unillustrated manuscript, BnF, fr. 24210, which does not include the fictional interpolations. BnF, fr. 770, which alone includes both interpolations, is thought to be the closest to the lost archetype. Curiously, in this codex the *Estoires* is grouped with Arthurian romances, as if it were seen primarily as an adventure story. By contrast, in the other two manuscripts it forms part of a collection of chronicles, though the determining factor for its inclusion may well have been a connection with the Béthune family.

For literary scholars, the *Estoires* is interesting as a hybrid, mixing elements of historiography, *chanson d'aventures* and romance. Though fac-

tually unreliable as a historical source, it gives a significant reflection of noble family interest in the crusading adventures of ancestors, amongst whom might even be counted the chivalrous enemy-hero, Saladin.

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MARGARET JUBB

Estoria de Espanna

ca 1270–83. Castile (Iberia). A Castilian-language work commissioned by Alfonso X (1252–84), king of Castile and León, who is named as author. In fact it was written at his request and under his instructions by an anonymous team of scholars. Written in prose, its ca 500 manuscript folios cover the history of Spain from its remote origins to the reign of Fernando III (1217–52), the father of Alfonso X, though it aimed to reach the time of its patron. It is regarded as the first history of Spain, here newly defined as the territory of the Iberian Peninsula, the Roman Hispania. Structured as a succession of political dominions, it starts with the Greek rule, inaugurated by the mythical first conqueror Hercules, and with the rule of the mysterious Almujuces, the account of whom is based on an unidentified Arabic source. These are followed by the African or Carthaginian, Roman, Barbarian, and Gothic dominions, the last, in Alfonso's view, the people who achieved a definitive lordship over the land. The kingdoms of León and Castile are conceived as unique inheritors of the Gothic *imperium* and therefore as holders of the right to rule the whole Peninsula. Though the history of other Hispanic kingdoms such as Navarre, Aragón or Portugal, is dealt with extensively, it is always structurally subordinated to that of León and Castile. This is also true of the Arab dominion (from 711 onwards), which is presented as provisional despite the thorough account it receives. The *Estoria* is intended to support Alfonso X's aspiration to put his kingdom above the other Iberian kingdoms and to inspire future kings and their subjects.

The work uses as its main sources the Latin histories written by Rodrigo → Jiménez de Rada:

Vandalorum, Alanorum et Silinguorum Historia, *Historia Gothica*, and *Historia Arabum*. Jiménez de Rada's account was contrasted and specifically supplemented by the information provided by → Lucas of Túy's *Chronicon Mundi* and by → Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronographia*, as secondary sources. Other occasional sources are the → *Gesta Roderici Campidocti*, → Pelayo of Oviedo's *Liber Chronicorum*, the → *Liber regum*, and a lost Arabic history by → Ibn 'Alqama. Many epic poems were prosified and used as sources: Carlos Mainete, Bernardo del Carpio, Infantes de Lara, Sancho el Fuerte, and the verse *Mio Cid*. The work of compiling involved translation of the sources, ranking them, and dividing the narrative into years and chapters. Specialized scholars carried out these tasks.

There are 35 manuscripts, one from Alfonso's *scriptorium* (El Escorial, RMSL, Y.I.2). The number rises to 59 if we include the manuscripts of later chronicles that reproduced parts of the *Estoria* verbatim, such as → *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*, → *Crónica General Vulgata*, or → *Estoria del fecho de los godos*. No single manuscript is complete. The work was never finished, since the compiling deteriorates as the text approaches Alfonso's times and does not extend beyond the conquest of Córdoba (1236). Why remains unclear. It has been suggested that Alfonso abandoned the work to give preference to the composition of his universal history, → *General estoria*, which fitted better with his aspiration to become the Roman emperor. A sign of discontent on Alfonso's part is the existence of a second version of the work, also written under his direct guidance near the end of his reign. The first is usually known as *Versión primitiva* [*Versión concisa*] and dated ca 1270–74, whilst this latter is called *Versión crítica*, ca 1283. This second version changes the dating of events and creates a new structure of the narrative, abridges the prose versions of epic poems, completes the compilations, and emphasizes the kings' authority. It also does not extend beyond 1236. In the early 14th century, the text was continued by the *Crónica particular de San Fernando* to the end of the reign of Fernando III (1252) and many of the manuscripts contain this addition.

After Alfonso's times until the end of the Middle Ages, the *Estoria* was extremely popular and influenced most of Hispanic historiography. It was used in 1289 in Toledo by circles close to Alfonso's son, Sancho IV (1284–95), to create a new *Versión amplificada*. This version was translated

into Portuguese (ca 1295–1312) and was the main source of → Pedro Afonso's *Crónica geral de 1344* and the subsequent and anonymous → *Crónica de 1404*. Moreover, some of these versions, alone or combined with other sources, were used word for word to create new chronicles such as → *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*, → *Crónica General Vulgata*, or → *Estoria del fecho de los godos*. These versions acted as sources of the anonymous → *Crónica de Castilla*, → Juan Manuel's *Crónica Abreviada*, or → Pedro de Escavias' *Repertorio de Príncipes*. Florián de Ocampo edited the work (Zamora 1541) following a manuscript of the *Crónica General Vulgata*.

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INÉS FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ

Estoria del fecho de los godos (History of the deeds of the Goths)

ca 1407, with continuations ca 1430 and ca 1455. Castile (Iberia). A general history of the peninsula from its origins until 1407. Scholars agree that this anonymous chronicle was compiled in Seville in the early 15th century. The text claims to be a direct translation of Rodrigo → Jiménez de Rada's Latin *De rebus Hispaniae*, and indeed its two main sources are based on this work: the translation known as → *Toledano Romanzado* and one of the chronicles derived from → Alfonso X of Castile and León's → *Estoria de Espanna*. The events from 1243, where Jiménez de Rada's narrative ends, until 1407 are covered through a variety of sources, including the early 14th-century *Historia hasta 1288 dialogada* (known only by its inclusion here) and → Ferrán Sánchez de Valadolid's *Crónica de Alfonso XI*.

There are two main versions of the chronicle, known as *Estoria amplia* (nine manuscripts) and *Estoria breve* (five manuscripts), each offering a

different combination of the two main sources. The *Estoria amplia* was supplemented in 1430 and 1455 (*Estoria amplia refundida*). The chronicle witnesses the revitalization of the idea of an uninterrupted continuity between the Visigothic kings of Spain and their alléged legitimate successors, the kings of Castile. As shown by the number of extant manuscripts, the chronicle enjoyed wide diffusion in the 15th century, and it was used as a source by → Pedro de Escavias and Diego de → Valera. The earliest manuscripts of the *amplia* are Madrid, BNE, ms. 9563 & ms. 9559; and the earliest *breve* codices are Madrid, BNE, ms. 6429 & ms. 7074.

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MANOLO HIJANO VILLEGAS

Estoria delos godos (History of the Goths)

later 13th century. Castile (Iberia). One of the earliest Romance translations of Rodrigo → Jiménez de Rada's *Historia Gothica*, this anonymous work in Castilian is the product of a non-royal and probably aristocratic milieu, it summarises and re-writes Rodrigo's text significantly. Believed by CATALÁN (2006) to be an Aragonese text from the early 1250s and by WARD (2006) and GÓMEZ REDONDO (2003) to spring from the noble revolt against → Alfonso X in the 1270/80s, it contains a history of Iberia from legendary times to 1243 with minor updatings to the time of the translator. As in Rodrigo's text, the Christian kingdoms of Spain are seen as heirs to the Visigoths, though the *Estoria* places a greater emphasis on near-contemporary events and employs direct speech more often than its source. The early sections are greatly abbreviated. In later sections there are interpolations of epic material and information from the non-Castilian kingdoms. There are two early manuscripts, Madrid, BNE, ms. 302

(13th century), and Madrid, BNE, ms. res. 278 (14th century), and two late copies of the former. Res/278 replaces the early Gothic sections with its own close translation of the *Historia Gothica*, thereby giving a different emphasis to the whole.

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AENGUS WARD

Esztergomi krónika

[De sepulchris octo priorum Hungariae regum; Esztergomi rövid krónika; Esztergomi diákjegyzet]

ca 1131–41 (if genuine). Hungary. A Latin catalogue of the burial places of eight Hungarian kings from the Árpád dynasty, from Stephen I to Stephen II, 1038–1131, possibly intended as a school book. Unlike later lists of Hungarian rulers, this one does not mention King Peter and Samuel Aba, and gives a different place of burial of Salamon, behind the walls of Székesfehérvár. The lack of information on Béla II's burial place, together with the naming Stephen II as *Stephanus minor*, suggests that Stephen III had not been crowned. However some researchers regard it as a 19th-century experiment or forgery: laboratory research has drawn no decisive conclusions on the matter. It is found on the last page of a manuscript preserved in Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, ms. III 184, which dates from the 2nd half of the 11th century or the early 12th century. The codex is believed to have been used in one of the Hungarian chapter or convent schools in the 13th century.

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LESŁAW SPYCHAŁA

Ethnography

Ethnography is a modern discipline which aims at describing the characteristics and habits of different nations or societies after long periods of observation and field-work. Like professional ethnographers, travellers also observe the various peoples they encounter on their travels, and they return to share their impressions with their audience. Medieval ethnographical writing was a lively and popular pursuit, characterizing and sometimes sensationalizing the exotic for the consumption of a readership which mostly had not travelled. Descriptions of foreign peoples are a common feature of chronicles.

It is widely agreed that in Western culture ethnography dates to the time of Homer. The colonization in the Black sea and the Mediterranean may have convinced the Greeks of the need for information on distant places and peoples. The classical tradition of ethnographic descriptions begins with Herodotus' observations of the Egyptians, Scythians, Persians and others (5th century BC). The subsequent development of the ethnographical tradition found its expression in many literary genres, including historical writing, geography and philosophy. A number of recurring features can be seen as key elements of these descriptions: national origin, physical appearance, religious belief, social structure, military practice, history, geographical and topographical description, though not all of these elements need be present. The classical tradition can be found in Sallust, Cae-

sar, Pliny and → Tacitus, all of whom were influenced by Herodotus. From the fall of the Western Roman Empire and throughout the Middle Ages, Europeans came in contact with many "Barbarian" tribes who challenged their concepts of identity. Many chroniclers and historians who described the "Barbarian invasions", → Orosius, → Isidore of Seville, → Bede and others, included remarks about foreign people which may be regarded as ethnographic.

In medieval writing, ethnography is closely related to other kinds of interests, such as the fascination with monstrous races. It therefore needs to be defined. Three criteria serve as useful guidelines here. Firstly, ethnography aims at the critical description of human societies; an ethnographic description has to relate the characteristics of human beings, as opposed to fantasy creatures, and should be critical in the sense that the author should choose from his sources that which seems to him most reliable. Secondly, the description should cover a wide range of cultural aspects and habits. In modern anthropological field-reports one can find lists of aspects which the ethnographer should address. While classical or medieval approaches were less systematic, we can expect them to relate to many characteristics of the "other" and not just to belligerence and cruelty. And thirdly, in order to distinguish ethnography from prejudice, we should be looking for descriptions which avoid over-simplifications.

Since ethnography was not a coherent discipline during the Middle Ages, there are very few examples of ethnographical monographs, notable exceptions being → Gerald of Wales' descriptions of Ireland and Wales. Most of the accounts are found embedded in other genres of writing and mainly in geographical and historical writing. In both of these one frequently finds discourses which contain introductory remarks about distant lands and their inhabitants. The geographical tradition has its roots in Pliny's natural history and borrows also from Greek writers, including Herodotus. Pliny's works were known through the mediation of Orosius, Solinus and Isidore of Seville. The historiographical tradition has its roots as early as Sallust's description of the campaign against Jugurtha (first century BC), which includes a discourse on Africa and its inhabitants. This served as a model for medieval historians like Bede whose *Historia ecclesiastica* opens with a description of Britain, or → Otto of Fre-

ising, whose life of Barbarossa is interrupted by a chapter on Hungary and its people. The geographical and historical traditions come together in world chronicles of the *imago mundi* type, pioneered by → Honorius Augustodunensis. Among those who followed him here are → Gervase of Tilbury, whose *Otia imperialia* contains a monumental collection of ethnographical observations, → Rudolf von Ems, whose vernacular *Weltchronik* contains a very long excursus on the nations of the world in German verse, and Ranulf → Higden, whose *Polychronicon* has a detailed account of Ireland, Scotland and England.

Until the 12th century most ethnographical descriptions were fragmentary in their nature, either as introductory chapters or digressions about certain peoples and their habits. Most of these fragments described the violent clash of civilizations, like the "barbarian invasions" (Goths, Huns etc.), or later descriptions of the Muslims by → Fredegar, or the descriptions of the Viking invasions which were included in monastic chronicles (→ *Annales Bertiniani*, → *Annales Fuldenses* etc.) and the → *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Alongside such descriptions, one can also find missionary reports, which described peoples who had recently embraced the Christian faith, or were on the brink of Christianization, for example, the writings of → Adam of Bremen and → Helmold of Bosau, narrating the Christianization of the Scandinavians, the Saxons and the Slavs. In addition to the usual derogatory description of Pagans, there are also passages representing the recently Christianized peoples in a complementary manner. Because of the fragmentary nature of the ethnographical descriptions of this period it is hard to trace a coherent discipline or guidelines. Since medieval ethnography lacked the safety net of a scientific method, it was particularly prone to be subject to the author's subjective perception of the people he described, even when the intention was to be balanced and factual. More often, the intention was to use the "other" as a foil against which to imply a construction of "self".

An important development in ethnographical writing took place in the early 12th century in the context of the first crusade. By 1095 many Europeans (estimations vary from 50,000 to 80,000) had travelled to the Levant, where they saw phenomena of which they had no prior knowledge. Subsequently both pilgrimage and trade took a constant stream of European travellers east-

wards. Beginning with such crusade chroniclers as → William of Tyre, eyewitness accounts began to replace the Classical authorities as a source for ethnographical data on the Levant. The chronicles of the crusades also generated a renewed interest in the exotic East and a broadening of the geographical knowledge of Asia and the Near East.

About the same time one can trace the developments widely known as the "12th-century Renaissance", the influence of which on ethnographical writing can be seen in the growing curiosity in describing new topics and the rise of ethnographical and geographical monographs. Such writing also included traces of the new "discovery of nature" and "scientific" knowledge, acquired from first-hand experience, rather than the classical authorities.

With the appearance of ethnographical monographs, such as the description of Ireland and Wales by Gerald of Wales or of Mongolia by → Giovanni di Piano Carpini and → William of Rubruck one can trace several new developments, contributing to the growth of a more systematic manner of description both in the context and the manner of writing. Through the description of later authors and the exploration of merchants, such as Marco → Polo, geographical and ethnographical knowledge contributed to the discovery of Asia in the end of the 13th century and even to the "Age of exploration" of the 15th-16th century. Such descriptions, unlike the early medieval fragments, were intentional and depended on the motivations of the respective authors and the purpose of the text. For example, Gerald of Wales depicted the Irish as backward barbarians in order to justify the Anglo-Norman invasion in Ireland, but he described the Welsh in a much more flattering manner because of his own Welsh connections.

In most cases the ethnographic descriptions of foreign peoples were still derogatory and writers tried to characterize them as savage "barbarians", as one can find in the Pilgrim's guide to Santiago of Compostella the *Codex Calixtinus*, which listed the disreputable characteristics of the Basques. Typically the "other" is opposed to the civilized society of the author. This theme, which emerged as early as classical antiquity, ran as a leitmotiv throughout the Middle Ages. Thus the Scottish chronicler → John of Fordun contrasted the civilised lowlanders with the highlanders: "a sav-

age and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, ease-loving, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language, and, owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel."

An interesting feature in medieval ethnography is the relativity by which some writers located different peoples on a hierarchy of manners. It seems that the peoples were judged by an "ethnographic stagger" in which some peoples were more barbaric than others or represented different measures of alterity. Sometimes the stagger was a geographical one and remote people were deemed more barbaric. Sometimes the stagger was religious and pagan peoples were criticised more sharply than those who were baptized. For example, Gerald of Wales describes the Irish of Connacht as total barbarians who knew nothing about the Christian faith or about bread and cheese.

One Biblical precursor of ethnographic interest is the "table of nations" in Genesis 10. Placed immediately after the story of the Tower of Babel, in which the nations of earth were punished with diverse languages, it lists the peoples of the world in three groups, offspring of Noah's sons Shem, Japheth and Ham. In world chronicles, which include biblical narrative in their chronological sequence, this can be the obvious moment to interrupt history for an excursus on geography. The Austrian → Jans der Enikel illustrates this connection particularly graphically: his main table of nations is positioned correctly in the Genesis account, but later, when he wishes to enhance his history of Germany with an ethnographic survey of the Germanic tribes, he re-tells the Babel story as a preface to it.

All these features did not totally replace the influence of the classical and early medieval influences on ethnographical writing. As late as the 14th and 15th century one can still find traces of the Hippocratic notion of "environmental determinism", by which people's characteristics are determined by the environment in which they live. Classical authorities were still quoted as late as the Renaissance, but corrected by eyewitness accounts. For example, on his way to Mongolia, William of Rubruck corrected Isidore's description of the Caspian Sea. Instead of regarding ethnographic writing in isolation, we should rather see it as located on a continuum leading

from ancient history through the Middle Ages, and culminating with the emergence of modern anthropology.

See also: → Founding Heroes; → Monsters and monstrous races.

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DAN GOLDENBERG

Etterlin, Petermann

ca 1430/40–ca 1509. Switzerland. Son of Lucerne town scribe Egloff Etterlin. Occasional clerk in the Lucerne chancellery from 1477, scribe 1488–ca 1494. The *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtgnoschaft, jr harkommen und sust seltsam strittenn und geschichten* (Chronicle of the praiseworthy Confederacy, its origins and other notable wars and stories) was printed in Basel on 24th December 1507.

This first history of the Swiss Confederacy starts with the founding legend of the Einsiedeln monastery where a statue of Mary was venerated as the Confederacy's patron. Only then follows the early history of Lucerne, "which existed before the beginning of the Confederacy". Etterlin's sources are the → *Chronikalien der Stadtbücher von Luzern* and Niklaus → Schradin; the view that he used Melchior → Russ has been discredited. For his account of the origins of the Confederacy, Etterlin used the → *Chronik im Weißen Buch von Sarnen* or a closely related text. Imperial history is

taken from Jakob → Twinger von Königshofen, Hartmann → Schedel, and Thomas → Lirer. Although Etterlin relates events up to 1503, his main emphasis is on the early history and on the Burgundian wars, which he witnessed as a soldier in the service of his hometown. Etterlin's affinity to humanism is shown by his use of → Albrecht of Bonstetten's Latin description of the Confederacy and of writings by Niccolò Niccoli. The *Kronica* was instrumental for shaping confederate identity until the late 16th century, especially through some of the thirteen woodcuts it contains [Fig. 18], among them a much copied picture of Wilhelm Tell shooting the apple from the head of his son.

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REGULA SCHMID

Eugui, García de

ca 1340–1407. Navarre (Iberia). Bishop of Bayonne and confidant of Kings Carlos II and III of Navarre. Author of *Crónica d'Espayña*. Written in prose, probably in the 1390s, it is a history of Spain with a distinctly Navarrese slant, at a time when the kings of Navarre were looking away from their French roots to their Iberian inheritance. The history of Spain from its origins to 1350 is based on → Alfonso X's *Estoria de Espanna* and the → *Estoria delos godos*, a Castilian translation of Rodrigo → Jiménez de Rada's *Historia Gothica*, and is supplemented by a *Genealogy of the kings of Navarre*, based principally on the *Estoria delos Godos* and Navarrese material from the *Libro de las Generaciones*. Although Eugui's chronicle contains little new historical detail it is notable for its inclusion of much legendary material, including the second Wamba, King Rodrigo, an alleged blasphemy by Alfonso el Sabio, and a letter from the Sultan of Baghdad written before the battle of Salado. There are two complete manuscripts, El Escorial, RMSL, X.II.22, and Madrid, BNE, ms. 1524, and ten containing only the

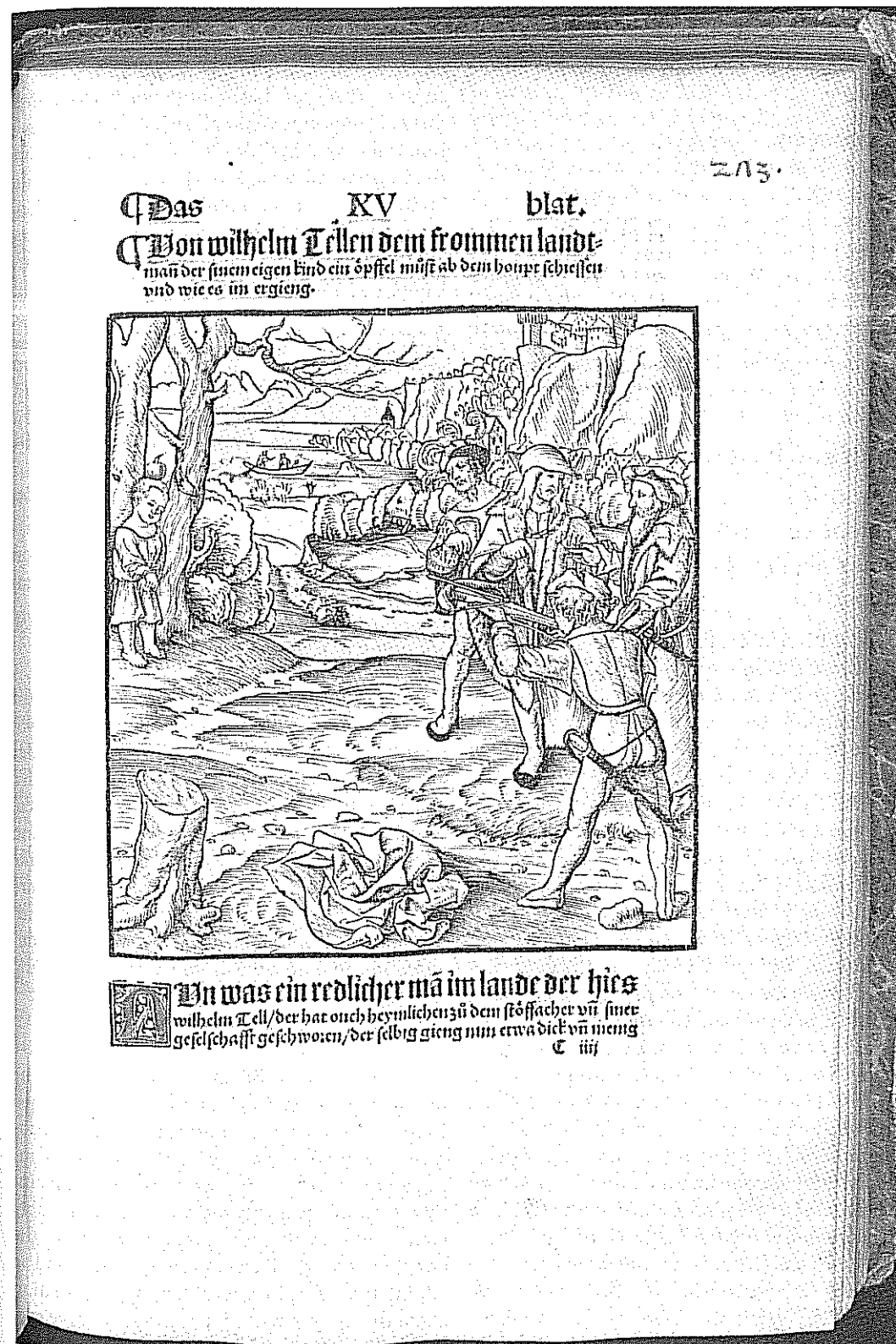


Fig. 18 Etterlin Petermann, *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtgnoschaft*. Iconic woodcut. The central scene of the Swiss Founding Story: William Tell shoots the apple off the head of his son, watched by the "evil bailiff", Gessler. Printed Basel, 1507. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 1517.

Genealogy. Although the aim seems to have been to put Navarrese historiography on the Iberian map, Eugui was principally remembered for the *Genealogy*.

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AENGUS WARD

Eulogium historiarum sive

temporis

[Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum domini M.CCC.LXVI; Eulogium temporis]

mid-14th century. England. A lengthy universal chronicle from the Creation to 1366 in Latin prose, drawn from various sources, some listed in a proem; probably written by a monk (to whom different names have been attached, although internal evidence suggests Thomas) at Malmesbury Abbey in Wiltshire. Five books cover biblical and secular history, with some geography and a monastic chronology. The first runs from the creation to the ascension, based mainly on the *Historia Scholastica* of → Peter Comestor and → Ranulf Higden's *Polichronicon* (plus material from → Isidore of Seville and the Gospel of Nicodemus); the second, on the Apostles, follows → Martin of Opava and Isidore and is close to the *Legenda aurea* of → Jacob of Voragine; the third, on the "four empires", especially Rome, is based on → William of Malmesbury, Martin, Isidore, the *Polichronicon* and → Orosius; the fourth is geographical, deriving from Pliny and others; and the fifth, chronicling the history of England to 1366, uses → Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, and the Anglo-Norman → *Prose Brut*. Two anonymous continuations take the contemporary chronicle to 1413 and 1490 respectively. While the later parts are valuable for their contemporary accounts of English history, the much longer earlier part is derivative and sometimes erroneous. The copy found in Trinity

College, Cambridge, (ms. R.7.2, 14th century), written in the author's own hand or produced under his supervision, was the basis for the RS edition. There are four additional manuscripts, three of them almost complete: London, Lincoln's Inn, Hale 73 (68) (Kirby Bellars Priory); London, BL, Cotton Galba ms. E.vii; Trinity College Dublin, ms. E. 2. 26; and London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra ms. D.ii (fifth book only). The latter three are from the 15th century, and the Kirby Bellars Priory manuscript is perhaps a little earlier. The name *Eulogium*, justified by the author, seems to mean "compendium". The *Eulogium* appears to have been used by → Capgrave.

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BRIAN MURDOCH
LISA M. RUCH

Eunapius of Sardis

b. ca AD 345. Asia Minor (Lydia). Greek sophist and historian. Eunapius studied in his hometown (Sardis, near modern Manisa, Turkey) under Chrysanthius, and in Athens under Prohaeresius. After he returned to Sardis, he joined the local Neo-Platonic circle, learning also theurgy and medicine, and became teacher of rhetoric. Like Philostratus, he wrote *Lives of Sophists*, which are extant in complete form. These mainly deal with the fourth century Neoplatonists, of whom an idealized image is given, with the aim of presenting an alternative model to Christian hagiography.

Eunapius' 14-book *History*, running from AD 270 to 404, is lost, but some fragments survive thanks to Photios' *Bibliotheca* (cod. 77). Some impression of its features can also be gained from → Zosimus, → Philostorgios and → Sozomen, who used it as a source. The work is a continuation of that of → Dexippus, but Eunapius refuses to follow a chronicle style, and probably composed his writing in monographic units; the attention is focussed on eastern provinces, and he admits the difficulties in obtaining information about the western part of the empire. A large section was devoted to Julian, of whom Eunapius was a great admirer, and in particular to Julian's Persian campaign. Eunapius' view of events is deter-

mined by the outspoken defence of the traditional religion, with a strong opposition to Christianity. In the *Lives of Sophists*, Eunapius refers to a previous edition of the *History*, of which no traces remain; according to Photios, who read both versions, it covered the same period as the second version, but for some scholars this information is unreliable.

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LAURA MECELLA

Eupolemus

2nd century BC. Judea. A Jewish historian, probably the same Eupolemus identified in I Macc. 8:17 as an envoy sent by Judah Maccabee to Rome in 161 BC. His history, written in Greek and known to → Clement of Alexandria as "On the Kings in Judaea," survives only in fragments. These include a short passage about Moses' contributions to world culture and a detailed account of the construction of the Jerusalem temple, which incorporates copies of letters said to have been exchanged between Solomon and the kings of Phoenicia and Egypt. A chronological notice in the work numbers 5149 years from Adam down to the fifth year of the reign of Demetrius I Soter (162–150 BC).

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WILLIAM ADLER

Eusebius of Caesarea

4th century. Palestine. Bishop of Caesarea, lived from ca 260 to 339, a prolific Greek-language Christian writer, especially celebrated for his *Chronicle* (*Chronographia*, *Chronici canones*) and his *Church History* (ἐκκλησιαστική ιστορία). He is hailed as the creator of the latter genre.

Eusebius studied with Pamphilus in Caesarea and was particularly influenced by the works of Origen. He lived through the Great Persecution (303–13) and was made bishop ca 313, and thus metropolitan of Palestine too. He played an active role in the church politics and theological disputes of his day. As a condemned Arian he attended the Council of Nicaea in 325, but signed up to its creed. He also attended the Council of Jerusalem in 335. Two of his works relate specifically to the emperor Constantine I (306–37), the *Tricennalian Oration*, which was delivered on 25 July 336, the thirtieth anniversary of Constantine's accession, and the *Life of Constantine*, which was not published until after Eusebius's death.

Like the *Church History*, Eusebius' *Chronicle* was published in more than one edition. The date of the first is disputed. The earliest date suggested is 276/7, though 303 is the more commonly accepted date. The most recent analysis suggests that the work was first completed in 311 as a response to the Great Persecution and the *Contra Christianos* of → Porphyry of Tyre, and was updated several times thereafter. Its origins would therefore have been both historical and apologetic. The final edition concluded in 325 with the celebrations for the twentieth anniversary of Constantine's accession, but the text as we have it is the product of a revision made a year later by Eusebius to remove any reference to the recently executed Crispus.

The chronicle consists of two parts, the *Chronographia* and the *Chronici canones* (chronological tables). It marks the confluence of two distinct streams of Greek chronography: chronicles, such as those of → Eratosthenes, → Apollodorus, → Castor of Rhodes and → Phlegon of Tralles, and Christian apologetic, such as that of Justin Martyr, → Theophilus, → Clement of Alexandria and → Julius Africanus. In the first volume, the *Chronographia*, Eusebius set out regnal year tables and extensive quotations from authoritative historians, presenting the chronological

evidence for one Mediterranean kingdom at a time. In the main volume, the *Chronici canones*, he presents the synthesis of the first volume in a sequence of descending columns each following the synchronized chronology of contemporary kingdoms, leading the reader through time up and down the page, and through geography across the page, from the Assyrians, Hebrews, Sicyonians and Egyptians (in the equivalent of 2016 BC) down to the Romans alone (ending in 325), starting with double-page spreads containing up to nine columns (= nine kingdoms) at any one time and shifting to single pages with the second year of Darius (521 BC). This structure was entirely original for a chronicle, and was probably inspired by the similar columnar structure of Origen's *Hexapla*.

The *Canones* was not well received in the Greek world, chiefly because its columnar format was too complicated to copy accurately and affordably, and was therefore open to corruption, but also because its anti-millenarian chronology went against the great tide of chronological thinking at the time. It was for the most part attacked and reworked. It is all but certain that an intact and unaltered text failed to survive the 4th century. Its impact on later Greek chronography was minimal, though it did spearhead the shift to the chronicle and abbreviated historical format. It had no later imitators that we know of and thus was the last of the great Greek Olympiad chronicles. Later chronicles were nothing like Eusebius in structure or outlook, being more epitome histories, annalistic compendia, *consularia* (see → *Consularia* and *fasti*; cf. → *Chronicon Paschale*), or annotated ruler and emperor lists. In many ways the later Greek chronicle tradition, such as it was, was inspired more by → Theophanes and the Syriac chronicle tradition than by Eusebius.

The work is now lost in Greek. The *Chronographia* survives complete in an Armenian translation and in a number of long excerpts in Greek. → Jerome translated the *Canones* into Latin, uniquely preserving its overall structure, but made many additions and alterations, as well as continuing it. An Armenian translation based principally upon a greatly modified Syriac translation survives, though it is lacunose in a number of places. Syriac translations of the *Canones* were a major source for a number of later Syriac chronicles and two in particular, the so-called *Chronicle of 724* and Ps-Dionysius (the → *Zuqin Chronicle*), contain many and extensive excerpts

from the *Canones*, the latter's excerpts preserved with dates (Years of Abraham). A number of later Greek works preserve excerpts from both the *Chronographia* and the *Canones*, particularly the → *Chronicon Paschale*, → Georgios Synkellos, and the → *Anonymus Matritensis*, but these are often difficult to disentangle from the general historical narrative when Eusebius is not explicitly cited. The disappearance of this visionary work of ancient and Christian chronology is one of the great losses of late antiquity.

Eusebius' greatest legacy came in Latin and Syriac. Jerome's translation and continuation reintroduced the chronicle to a Latin world that was in the process of rediscovering the advantages and benefits of annalistic epitome history through *consularia*. Continuations of Jerome by → Prosper of Aquitaine, the authors of the → Gallic Chronicle of 452 and the → Gallic Chronicle of 511, → Hydatius, and → Marcellinus comes went on to inspire and influence the later development of what became the dominant historiographical genre of the Latin Middle Ages. In Syriac, translations of Eusebius likewise inspired an explosion of chronicle writing that continued even into later Arabic traditions, including such works as those of → Jacob of Edessa, Pseudo-Dionysius and → Michael the Syrian.

Besides the → *Continuatio Eusebii Antiochensis* (Greek), Jerome (Latin) and → Jacob of Edessa (Syriac) there were other 4th- to 6th-century continuations of Eusebius' *Chronici canones*, though none of them survive. These include an anonymous Greek or Syriac continuation to 333; Diodorus of Tarsus (ca 378–94) in Greek; Andronicus, a Greek Justinianic continuator, to 337; and → Panodorus and → Anianus, two Alexandrian monks at the beginning of the 5th century, who, like Diodorus and Andronicus, heavily reworked Eusebius' chronology.

The most important Greek manuscript for the *Chronographia* is Paris, BnF, gr. 2600 (15th century). The sole surviving independent Armenian manuscript of the *Chronographia* and the *Canones* is Yerevan, Matenadaran, ms. 1904 (12th/13th century). The Syriac chronicle of Ps-Dionysius is found in Vatican, BAV, vat. syr. 162 (9th/10th century). Among the best Latin manuscripts (containing → Jerome's version) are Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. auct. T II 26 (5th century [Fig. 43]) and Berlin, SB, ms. Phill. 1829 (9th century). The *editio princeps* of the Latin version is by Bonino Mombrizio (Venice

1475). A pioneering early modern edition of the Latin version was published by Joseph Scaliger in his *Thesaurus temporum* (Leiden, 1606; corrected second edition, 1658).

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

SHAUN TOUGHER

Eustathius of Epiphaneia

5th–6th century (died ca 505). Syria. Greek historian from Epiphaneia. Author of a lost *Χρονική ἐπιτομή*, a work known thanks to the information given by → Evagrius Scholasticus, → Ioannes Malalas and the *Suda*; probably it was a universal history in annalistic form. The chronicle was divided into two parts: the first one, possibly commencing with Adam, concluded with the Fall of Troy; the other ended with the Persian conquest of Amida (11th January, AD 503). The author drew upon both pagan (such as → Zosimus, Priscus) and ecclesiastical authors (such as → Eusebius of Caesarea, → Theodoret of Cyr). According to the *Suda*, he also composed other writings. Paris, BnF, gr. 1555A (13th–14th century) fols. 5–7 preserves a short text deriving from Eustathius' epitome of Flavius → Josephus: the fragment begins with Adam and Eve and ends with Vespasian and Titus.

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LAURA MECELLA

Eustathius of Salonica [of Thessalonica]

ca 1100–1195/98. Greece. Famous Byzantine writer in various genres, metropolitan of Thessalonica (Salonica), author of a chronological report in Greek prose on the Norman sack of Thessalonica in 1185.

Even though the autobiographical references found in his works are minimal and vague, it is speculated that Eustathius was born in Constantinople around 1110. He received a good education, possibly because he was the nephew, but certainly because he was a student of the μαΐστωρ τῶν ρητόρων Nikolaos Katafloros, as a result of

which he served for many years at the office of the Patriarchate, and the Imperial Court.

There is a degree of contention among researchers regarding the year of his assumption of the metropolitan throne of Thessalonica. It certainly happened after 1174, when he was offered the metropolitan throne of Myroi in Lykia. His arrival in Thessalonica is dated by some between 1177 and 1179. However, during the summer of 1175, Eustathios, quite possibly as metropolitan of Salonica, delivered his monody for the recently deceased metropolitan of Athens, Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites.

It seems that he was closely affiliated with Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–80), and took part in person as well as with works of literature written especially for the occasion in important moments of the Emperor's life. We know that he was present at the Emperor's funeral, and that he wrote a commemorative address in the deceased Emperor's honour. At any rate, his stay in Salonica was marked by disputes with the local ecclesiastical and monastic cliques. Eustathius attempted a systematic reduction in the secular activities of the priests and monks, whom he wished to limit strictly to their ecclesiastical duties. When the dispute escalated considerably, Eustathius left Salonica, only to return in 1190 to the metropolitan throne after Emperor Isaac II Angelus (1185–95) intervened on his behalf. He died between the years of 1195 and 1198. His close personal friend Euthymius Malakes, metropolitan of Neai Patras, dedicated a monody which he delivered a few days after Eustathius's death.

To us Eustathius has left a manifold literary work, but only one text was written on an exceptional historical background. In the year 1185 the Normans once again tried to assume the leadership in the Byzantine Empire, and on their way to the east according to Eustathius' account, an army of 80 000 soldiers beset the city on 15 August and breached the strong surrounding wall of Thessalonica in the harbour region nine days later. The author mentions every stage of the siege and after detailed information about the sack and the inevitable destruction of the city, ends with a sore lamentation. This text must, of course, be read against the background of the ancient Greek texts referring the sack of a city, with which Eustathius was very familiar. The influence of these literary models requires us to read his chronological construction with a critical eye.

The work is preserved only in the autograph manuscript, suggesting that it was not widely circulated: Basel, UB, cod. A III 20, fol. 221^v–255^v (12th century).

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CHRISTOS STAVRAKOS

Eutropius

4th century. Thrace (Bulgaria). A prominent administrator who rose to the consulship in 387, Eutropius spent the winter 369–70 writing the *Breviarium*, an epitome history of Rome from its foundation (753 BC) to the death of Jovian (AD 364). It seems to have been written in Marcianopolis. The work consists of ten short books and is dedicated to the emperor Valens. It is based on the now-lost epitome of Roman history, of which the → *Kaisergeschichte* formed the last part. Its elegant Latin and compact nature recommended it to later generations. It survives in ten major manuscripts dating from the 9th to the 12th centuries (e.g. Erfurt/Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 101, 9th century; Paris, BnF, lat. 7240, 11th century and lat. 18104, 12th century; Leiden, UB, BPL 141, 10th century; Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 1981, 10th century; St. Omer, BM, ms. 697, 11th century; Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 323, 12th century; London, BL, Harley ms. 2729, 12th century). It was twice translated into Greek, was augmented and continued by → Paul the Deacon (e.g. Bamberg, SB, msc. hist. 6, 10th century; Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 3339, 11th century) and → Landulf Sagax (Vatican, BAV, pal. lat. 909, 10th century), and served as a textbook of Latin and Roman history down to the 19th century

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Eutyichius

[Sa'īd ibn Bitrīq]

877–940. Egypt. Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, author of an Arabic universal history from Creation to the mid-10th century. Sa'īd was born in Fustāt (Old Cairo), trained as a physician, and became patriarch taking the name Eutyichius in either 933 or 935. His election aroused opposition among some of Egypt's Melkites, but he remained in office until he died on 11 May 940. Several works on medicine and apologetics are attributed to Eutyichius, but he is most famous for his universal history, one of the first written in Arabic by a Christian.

This chronicle was known by several names, the most poetic being *Nazm al-jawhar* (The String of Pearls), but is generally known to European scholars as the *Annales*. An alternative Arabic title is *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh al-majmū' 'alā l-tahqīq wa-l-tasdīq*. Eutyichius states that he wrote it for his brother and wanted it to be a concise but comprehensive introduction to history "so that no-one else need be consulted for knowledge of anything from history". It has been demonstrated that the work is an attempt to construct a communal history and identity for Melkites within the Islamic world. It runs from Creation until 938 and draws upon diverse sources, including an Arabic Bible, the *Alexander Romance*, a history of the Sasanians translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa', and material transmitted by Islamic scholars. From the mid-7th century the work mostly focuses on the Islamic Near East, including patriarchal affairs. Eutyichius notes that his information about the patriarchs of Rome and even Constantinople was limited.

The history was continued in the 11th century by → Yahyā al-Antākī and cited by several later historians. At least twenty-nine manuscripts have survived and many display significant variations. BREYDY has identified the manuscript Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Arab 580 [582] as the earliest copy of the work, and it is perhaps even an autograph. It is incomplete—apart from a brief report about the early 9th century it ends with events in Egypt in 641–42—and is without the obviously later additions apparent in other manuscripts. These additions were probably the result of the work's later transmission in Antioch, and it is useful to distinguish between the "Alexandrian recension" (represented only by the Sinai manuscript—150 pages of edited text) and the "Antiochene recension" (over 300 pages in CHEIKHO's edition). Three manuscripts in the Bodleian were first edited by Pococke and Selden (Oxford 1658), and several others in Paris and Beirut formed the basis of CHEIKHO's edition; BREYDY's is the first edition of the Sinai manuscript.

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HARRY MUNT

Evagrius scholasticus

ca 535–post 594. Syria. Byzantine scholasticus (lawyer) and author of the Greek Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία (*Church History*). Born in Epiphaneia (now Hama), Evagrius later settled in Antioch and served under Gregory, Patriarch of Antioch (570–93). His *Church History* continued the ecclesiastical histories of → Socrates Scholasticus, → Theodoret of Cyr, and → Sozomen by narrating the events from the council of Ephesus (431) to the death of Gregory in 593.

Completed in 593/94, this six-book history treats a range of ecclesiastical, political, and diplomatic topics and draws on a variety of sources, both ecclesiastical and secular. The first books cover the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon (451) and the resulting Monophysite division in the theological and political landscape of Byzantium over the next century. As a supporter of Chalcedon, Evagrius tends to depict Justinian as too weak in his support of the council's theological position and critiques him for other theological errors and for the chaos and disorder left in the empire at his death. Although the majority of his works were primarily concerned with ecclesiastical matters, the last two books increasingly concentrate on political and diplomatic events as the author draws more deeply on his own first-hand experiences under Gregory. He supplements his historical narrative of the important ecclesiastical and political events of the 5th and 6th centuries with transcriptions of official documents and inscriptions, including Zeno's *Henotikon* (3.14) and Chosroes (Khusraw) II's ex-voto dedications to the shrine of St. Sergius (6.21).

The *Church History* was first published by Robert Estienne (Paris, 1544); his edition was followed shortly by several Latin translations, the most widely circulated of which was made by John Christopherson (Leuven, 1570; Paris, 1571). Estienne's edition was succeeded by Henri de Valois (Paris, 1673), who used better manuscripts. The ten known manuscripts fall into two families. The more important of the two, which survived the later corrections characteristic of the text of the second family, is represented solely by the 12th-century Florence, BML, Laurentianus 70.23.

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MATTHEW R. LOOTENS

Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen

15th/16th century. Low Countries. "Excellent chronicle of Flanders" is the short title of a chronicle of the foresters and counts of Flanders, printed in 1531 as a large folio edition by Willem Vorsterman in Antwerp. In current research this title is not strictly reserved for the 1531 edition, but used also for the text which has come down to us in seven related Flemish manuscripts from the late 15th century as well. Although these versions to a great extent tell the same story, in details they show significant differences. A striking example concerns the episode of the Bruges Revolt (1436–8) where the various versions reflect differing political positions.

The first part of the chronicle, until the reign of Philip the Good, is the Dutch translation of → *Flandria generosa* C. The 15th century section is written from a Bruges perspective. From the years 1440 until the death of Mary of Burgundy, the chronicle can be attributed to Anthonis de Roovere, a prominent member of the local Chamber of rhetoric and poet laureate in Bruges.

The section written by De Roovere to a large extent bears the character of a memory book spinning out the events of daily life in his hometown during the apex of Burgundian rule. It gives extensive descriptions of festivities like entry ceremonies and funerals. The account of the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in July 1468 fills 20 pages in the 1531 edition. It is among the most comprehensive reports of this apogee of the burgundian theatre state. For this episode De Roovere made use of an even more extensive account by his own hand. This is not the only episode taken from another written source: the same holds for a rhymed account of the Trier meeting of the German emperor Friedrich III and Charles the Bold in 1473 which was reworked in prose, a translation of a French letter sent by the English king Edward IV to the Bruges citizens to express his gratitude for the refuge he experienced, and some 20 rhetorical poems, probably written by De Roovere himself, originally meant as an appeal to participate in a general procession as a remembrance of similar occasions.

After De Roovere died on 16 May 1482, several continuations of the chronicle were made. One of those is by the hand of Rombout de Doppere, later on suffragan of Bruges. His continuation is

only preserved in manuscript Douai, BM, 1110. There it is presented as an addition to the chronicle of De Roovere. The original part of this manuscript is a copy by Jacob van Malen, a scribe who wrote at least one other copy of this text (Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, 436), and who interfered more than once in the text he had at his disposal. A second continuation is the work of Andries de Smet, who was a rhetorician of Bruges, like De Roovere and De Doppere. His copy did not stand the times, but his text was used by Vorsterman in 1531, expanded with an Antwerp chronicle on the first years of Charles V's regime.

The New York-copy of the chronicle (Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 485) deserves special attention in that it presents the chronicle of De Roovere in alternation with the → *Fasciculus temporum*, although further research is required to evaluate the framing of this text. The popularity of the *Excellent chronicle* is proven by the many copies, as well as by the existence of an Italian translation, which was written in Bruges at the end of the 15th century (Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, ms. 685).

The *Excellent chronicle* of Flanders is still waiting for a modern edition. Not only the detailed record it gives of every day life and burgundian splendour, but also the precious illustrations of some of the manuscripts (Douai, BM, 1110; Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, 437, Brussels, KBR, 13.073–74), make it one of the major narrative sources from late medieval Europe.

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JOHAN OOSTERMAN

Excerpta ex historia Anglorum

ca 1200. England. Described by its editor as "a synopsis of many events and curiosities in early

English history" prior to the Conquest, this short Latin chronicle, preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms. 287, was first published as an appendix to HOOK's edition of → Henry of Silegrave. It consists of a series of lists with commentary: Anglo-Saxon saints from various parts of England; kings of the Anglo-Saxons up to William I; four wonders of Britain including *Stanhenges, ubi lapides mirae magnitudinis in modis portarum elevati sunt* (Stonehenge, where stones of amazing size are raised up like gates); miracles that occurred as the English were converted to Christianity (primarily comets and eclipses of the sun and moon) and some that occurred later such as dragons flying through the air that foreshadowed the Danish and Norwegian invasions. It cites → Bede, and the [H] added to the title, HOOK writes, denotes → Henry of Huntingdon.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Excerpta Latina Barbari [Barbarus Scaligeri]

Late 5th or early 6th century. Egypt and Italy/Gaul (France)? A poor Latin translation of a lost Alexandrian Greek original, itself based on both Latin and Greek sources. The work is made up of four parts: an augmented translation of → Hippolytus of Rome's chronicle (the *Liber Generationis*), a compilation of material from the chronicles of → Julius Africanus and → Eusebius, a compilation from Eusebius' *Chronographia*, and → *consularia* and *fasti* very closely related to the → *Fasti Vindobonenses posteriores*. Like the → *Fasti Berolinenses* →, *Consularia Ravenatiana*, and → *Goleniščev Chronicle*, the *consularia* of this text were originally illustrated, though the surviving manuscript includes only blank spaces for 13 illustrations and a few captions. There is one manuscript of the 7th or 8th century (Paris, BnF, lat. 4884).

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Excerpta Sangallensia

(St. Gallen excerpts)

5th–6th centuries. Italy. Latin excerpts of consuls and historical entries between 390 and 572 from *consularia* (see → *Consularia* and *fasti*) very closely related to but much more complete than the extant → *Fasti Vindobonenses*, surviving in a single 9th-century manuscript (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 878 [Fig. 19]). This manuscript also contains a text of the → *Chronograph of 354*. These excerpts, unfortunately, are very sporadic and reflect a compiler with an overriding interest in unusual natural phenomena (such as earthquakes and plagues). The *Excerpta* are one of the primary witnesses to the → *Consularia Italica*.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Exordium monasterii Carae

Insulae

(Cronicle of Øm monastery)

13th century. Denmark. The Latin account of the foundation and history of the Cistercian abbey of Øm (in eastern Jutland, Denmark, close to Århus) falls in two distinct parts. The composition of the first part began in 1207 and looks back to the initial attempts of a Cistercian foundation resulting in Øm Abbey in 1172. This part also includes brief biographies of abbots, the first six of which belong to the first phase of writing. The list is updated all the way up to 1320. The second half of the *Exordium* is a dossier of the controversies between the abbey and the bishop of Århus during the 1250s and 1260s—a struggle which had wider ramifications for the contemporary conflict between king and archbishop. The compiler of this dossier speaks on behalf of his community and in the process provides a rich image of ecclesiastical politics and daily life in the second half of the 13th century. The *Exordium* is transmitted in its original form, the 'Øm Book', Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Mscr. Ex don. var. 135 4^a—a highly valuable testimony to Danish learned and administrative culture of the period.

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LARS B. MORTENSEN

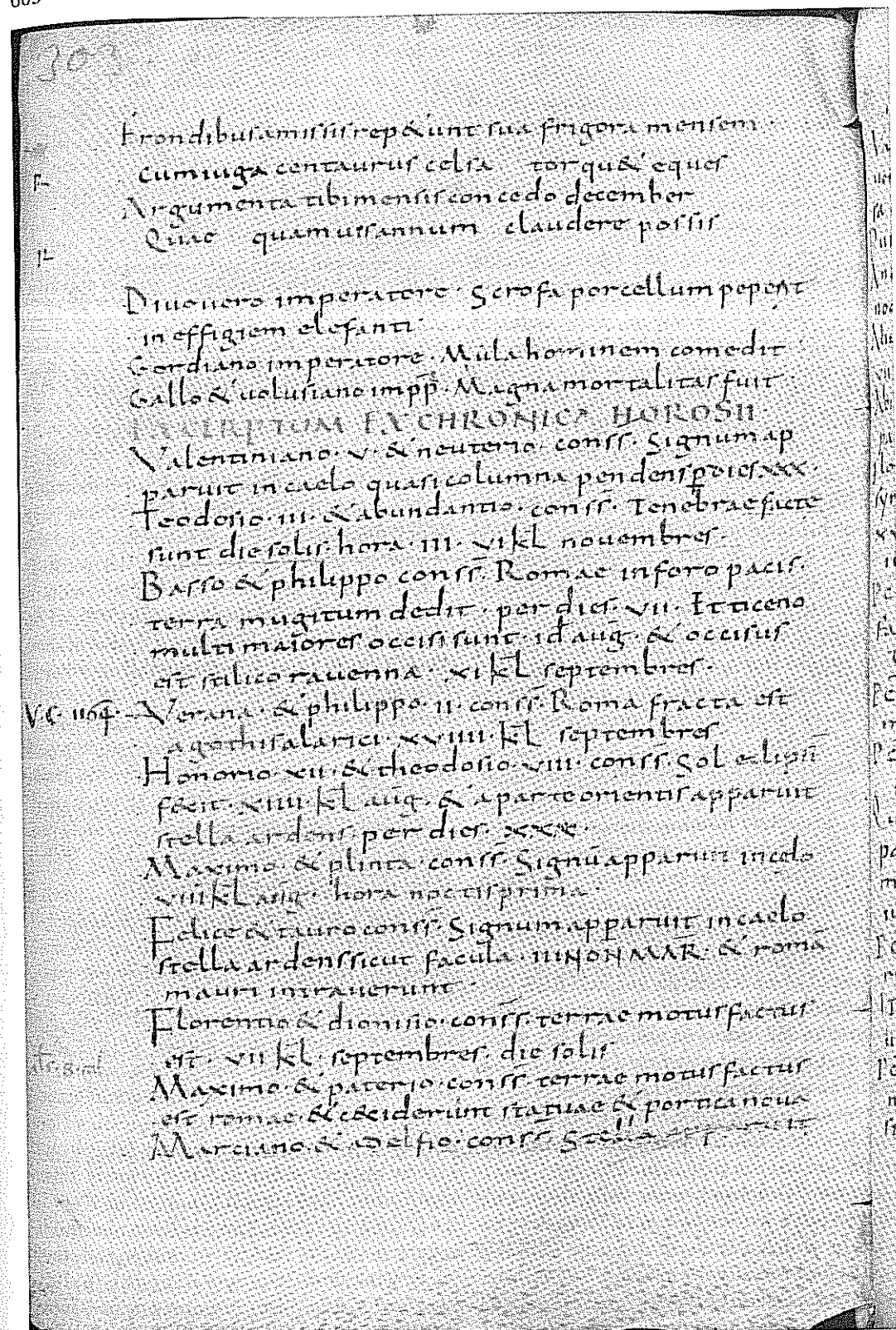


Fig. 19 Beginning of the *Excerpta Sangallensia* (misattributed to Orosius). Reichenau, ca 825/849. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 878, p. 303.

plays a major role in most of the seventh part, which begins with 1066 but becomes a London chronicle from Richard I's accession in 1189. Fabyan completed his chronicle in 1504.

The first part of the chronicle (from Brutus to the death of Philip II of France in 1223) is preserved in Wells-next-the-Sea, Holkham Hall, ms. 671; the second part (Richard I to 1485), in BL, Cotton Nero ms. C.xi and in Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, ms. eng. 766. Richard Pynson published *The New Chronicles of England and France* in 1516 without a reference to its author. The second edition, which William Rastell published in 1533, attributes it to Fabyan. Fabyan's authorship of a continuation to 1509 included by Rastell is uncertain. It was published four more times in the 16th century and was a source for 16th-century chroniclers such as John Stow and Edward Hall. The *New Chronicles* used the writings of the English authorities → Bede, → Henry of Huntingdon and others. For French history, Fabyan drew heavily upon Robert → Gaguin's *Compendium super Francorum Gestis* (Paris, 1497). Each part of the *New Chronicles* is concluded by verses telling of the Seven Joys of the Virgin Mary, whom the author desired to be patroness of his work. Some, notably Stow, thought that Fabyan also wrote the *Great Chronicle of London* (s.v. → London Chronicles).

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MARCO NEUMAIER

Facio, Bartolomeo

ca 1400–1457. Italy. Born in La Spezia, Facio studied in Verona with Guarino and was a notary and chancellor in Lucca and Genoa. In 1445 he moved to Naples, where he established close relations with Antonio → Beccadelli (Panormita). At the end of a sharp polemic with Lorenzo → Valla (Facio reproached his overly realistic historical method and the lack of *decorum* and *brevitas*)

Facio became official historian of Alfonso the Magnanimous.

In 1434 he wrote the historic tale *De origine inter Gallos ac Britannos belli historia* (History of the origin of the war between the French and the English). The following works date back to the Neapolitan period: *De Bello Veneto clodiano* (The war between the Venetians and Genoa), *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri* (Books of King Alfonso's deeds) and *De viris illustribus* (On famous men), a collection of 63 biographies of great men of his time. The most important historical works are the *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri X* (Ten books of deeds of King Alfonso), in Latin prose, completed in 1456–57. The work tells of the undertakings of Alfonso the Magnanimous between 1420 and 1455, and shows a historiographical conception which represented a significant model followed not only in Naples, but also in other Renaissance courts.

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FULVIO DELLE DONNE

Færeyinga Saga

(The saga of the Faroe Islanders)

ca 1200. Iceland. The anonymous author was in all likelihood an Icelander. This Old Norse saga is not preserved as a continuous text, but is known from excerpts incorporated into → Snorri Sturluson's *Óláfr inn helgi*, the anonymous *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar in mesta* (The great saga about Óláfr Tryggvason, ca 1300) and the *Flateyjarbók* (GKS 1005 2°, Reykjavík, 1380s). The text found in editions of *Færeyinga saga* is assembled from the different sagas which have used it as a source. *Færeyinga saga* cannot be reconstructed without lacunas, and the text has in some places been shortened.

The saga describes rivalry between Faroese chieftains from the late 10th to the mid-11th century

F

Fabri, Felix

ca 1440–1502. Switzerland, then Germany. Born in Zürich as Felix Schmid. Observant Dominican priest-friar, lector of the priory and preacher first in Basel, later in Pforzheim, and finally in Ulm, where he died. Author of the Latin *Descriptio Theutoniae, Sueviae et civitatis Ulmen-sis, de eius origine et regimine et de eius civibus*.

Fabri is well-known for his detailed description of his pilgrimages (*Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*). In fact, his history of Swabia and Ulm was originally intended to be the last chapter of his travel book. Because of its scope he separated it as a two-part book entitled *Descriptio Sueviae/Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi* in 1488/89 (first version), which was subsequently updated and shortened in 1493–7 (second version).

The first part, in which Fabri shows some historical erudition (albeit second-hand), is an etymological, geo-ethno-historiographical description of the German provinces rather than a chronicle, covering a period from prehistoric times up to the present. The Zürich chronicles of → Henry of Diessenhofen, Gregor Hagen and Felix Hemmerlin (see → *Chronik der Stadt Zürich*) can be considered as models for the chapters XIII–XVI. The second part is a panegyric description of the topography and history as well as the late medieval constitution and society of Ulm. It portrays the city as originating in the ancient world and in this regard the work is rather mythological. Later periods are strongly compiled. The author's own time is depicted in a vivid manner.

The author, though born in Switzerland, generally reveals a patriotism related to Swabia: the Swabians, always able to put up a fight, were able to scare off the Amazons in ancient times; later they even kept guard by the Adriatic Sea. Swabian women inhabited both convents and brothels everywhere. The work's tendency is clearly pro-Habsburg and anti-Swiss. Handwritten copies

of this work were distributed beyond the city's boundaries: around 1500 it was copied by Hartmann → Schedel of Nuremberg. The work is preserved in the autograph: Ulm, StB, cod. 19555, 3 (olim 6718, 1). *Editio princeps* by Melchior Goldast, 1605.

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UWE ISRAEL

Fabyan, Robert

d. 1513. England. Draper, alderman, and sheriff of London, and author of *The New Chronicles of England and France*, written in Middle English. Fabyan's intention is announced in the prologue, where he calls the work a *Concordance of Storyes*. It connects English and French history, which had been closely intertwined since the Norman Conquest in 1066. In the seven parts of his chronicle Fabyan methodically follows the history of kings and their reigns. The first four are dedicated to British and English rulers beginning with Brutus. From the fifth part onward, Fabyan alternates English with French history up to the accession of Henry VII in 1485. The history of London

and the relations between these chieftains and Norwegian kings. The sympathy lies with the hero Sigmundur Brestisson, who brought Christianity to the islands, and with his family. However, his antagonist, the evil and cunning Þrándr í Gøtu, is a more interesting character. The author builds on Faroese tradition. In terms of style and content *Færeyinga saga* has more in common with sagas of Icelanders than with kings' sagas.

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ELSE MUNDAL

Fagrskinna

[The fair parchment]

13th century. Norway. Anonymous saga, written in Old Norse, covering the period from Hálf-dan svarti, father of the first ruler of the whole of Norway, to 1177. It was probably written around 1220 in Norway, most likely in the Trøndelag area. It is uncertain whether the author was Norwegian or Icelandic. The main focus of the work is on the Norwegian kings and their deeds. A number of skaldic stanzas are quoted or alluded to, and the author must have known a number of earlier sagas, including → *Ágrip af Noregs Konunga Sogum*, → *Morkinskinna* and possibly the lost works by → Ari Þorgilsson inn fróði and → Sæmundr Sigfússon. The narrative is mostly well organised; there are few digressions, few references to religion or supernatural events, and the author is very reluctant to criticise the kings. The work therefore seems to have been composed in proximity to the dynasty, perhaps commissioned by one of its members. The two medieval manuscripts, one mid-13th century and one early 14th century, were both lost in 1728, but the text survives in various transcripts.

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SVERRE BAGGE

al-Fākihī

[‘Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn al-‘Abbās al-Fākihī]

3rd century AH (9th century AD). Mecca. No secure dates for his life are transmitted except his own statements in his *Ta'rikh Makka* (History of Mecca), preserved in Leiden, UB, or. 463. Only the second half of his work survives in this unique manuscript. It was partly edited by WÜSTENFELD. Following his own dates al-Fākihī may have completed his work between 272 AH / 885–86 AD and 275 AH / 889 AD, and it is much more extensive than the *History of Mecca* by al-→ Azraqī. Although al-Fākihī's work is similar to the work of al-Azraqī in the arrangement and the material, it is considered by ROSENTHAL as a work of "independent scholarly achievement".

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Falco of Benevento

ca 1070–probably 1144. Italy. Notary and judge in Benevento. Author of the Latin *Chronicon Beneventanum* (Chronicle of Benevent). The chronicler, of Beneventan origin, was active from 1092 as *notarius et scriba Sacri Beneventani Palatii* (notary and scribe of the Sacred Beneventan Palace) and from 1133 as judge in his homeland, as 16 extant documents written and signed by him testify. Clues to Falco's political activities are to be found also in his *Chronicon*, in which the history of the city of Benevento takes first place. Due to its acephalic preservation, his work starts in 1102, and it ends abruptly in 1140 in the middle of the narration. Falco's main written source is the → *Annales Beneventani*. In the schism of 1130 the papal enclave of Benevento lies at the centre of the disputes among the Normans, the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy. As an active supporter of the papal dominion of Benevento and supporter of Innocent II, Falco must have lived in exile in Naples 1134–37, after the conquest of Benevento by Anacletus II and Roger II, where he supposedly started the redaction of his chronicle. The text of the *Chronicon Beneventanum* can be

reconstructed on the basis of four early modern manuscripts, two of which are to be found in the Vatican (BAV, barb. lat. 2330 & barb. lat. 2345), and two in Naples (BN, S. Martino 66 & 364).

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JULIA BECKER

Family chronicles

1. Characteristics; 2. Italy; 3. German-speaking lands and Bohemia; 4. France; 5. Byzantine world; 6. Jewish; 7. Aristocratic house chronicles in Germany and England

1. Characteristics

Family chronicles are one of the smaller but livelier categories of chronicles in the late Middle Ages. Typically an urban phenomenon, they become common in the fourteenth and fifteenth century especially in the two areas where the process of urban emancipation was most advanced: Northern Italy and the German-speaking lands. Family chronicles are a particularly interesting source for historians of the late medieval and early modern town, as they abound in details of everyday life. Unfortunately, very little comparative research has been done on family chronicles, though there have been a number of important studies of individual works.

By family chronicles we mean chronicle records which focus partly or wholly on events in the chronicler's own family, and which are written either as personal notes for the author's future reference, or to be read by other members

of the same family. The boundary between family chronicles and diaries (which in their modern form also originated in the Renaissance) is fluid. The term does not normally include the dynastic and genealogical histories of ruling houses which are common throughout the Middle Ages, though of course they are also in a sense chronicles of families. What distinguishes the late medieval family chronicle is its personal and familial tone, its pragmatic rather than representational nature, and its local focus.

Formally, family chronicles are quite diverse. They range from notes written in the margins of another work (sometimes a printed book) to large-scale planned volumes of memoirs. Typically they are annalistic in layout, with a date introducing an entry on what happened in a particular day or year. Sometimes they are written retrospectively, that is, the author writes up the past history of the family from records, recollections and oral accounts; but often they are written concurrently with events, and grow like a diary over the years. It is also possible that these elements can exist as a hybrid, a retrospective account being continued contemporaneously. Sometimes they are written by a series of different family members over several generations. It is interesting to note that in all of these formal characteristics, they bear close comparison with monastic annals, but also with some kinds of town council records.

In terms of content, family chronicles typically contain a mixture of reports pertinent to the family itself and information on the surrounding world. Births, marriages and deaths, journeys and visits, stand alongside the stages in the career of the author or the successes and failures of his business as the most frequently recurring family elements. Extra-familial data is most commonly related to events of the town, and indeed, the boundary between family chronicles and town chronicles can be blurred by the quantity of town news, especially when the author is a leading member of the council. There can also be references to more distant events, or to natural phenomena.

2. Italy

It may be that the late medieval vogue for family chronicles began in Italy, which would be consistent with the impression that it is to some extent a Renaissance genre. At any rate, a series of family chronicles appear already in the fourteenth

century, such as those of Galeazzo and Bartolomeo → Gatari, → Simone di Bindo della Tosa or Donato → Velluti. Fifteenth-century examples include Jacopo di Alamanno → Salviati and Giovanni → Chiabrera. The Italian cities also know many examples of the "diario", which is not a diary in the modern sense, but a journal of newsworthy events from town and family. Further examples from Italy include Matteo → Griffoni, → Rinuccini, the → Villani family and Marin → Sanudo. According to IRACE family chronicles in the communal period are an instrument used by the most important families of the town "to underline their historical role as the ruling class of the town".

3. German-speaking lands and Bohemia

One of the earliest urban family chroniclers from Germany is the fourteenth-century Ulman → Stomer from Nuremberg, whose *Püchel von meim geslecht und von abentewr* has a family history as the second of its three parts. This combination of a well-rounded family chronicle with imperial and commercial history is relatively unusual, but it can be seen as the beginning of the family chronicle tradition in the German-speaking lands. This blossomed in the fifteenth century with at least ten significant works, mostly from southern Germany: Wenzel → Gruber of Scheyern, the Kimpel family of Memmingen (see → *Kimpelsche Chronik*), → Matthäus von Pappenheim and Ulrich → Schwarz of Augsburg, and the → Tucher Family of Nuremberg represent a major concentration in Bavaria, while Konrad → Beck was located in Mengen in Württemberg near the Swiss border. Family chronicles of the Rhineland include those of Werner → Overstolz (Cologne), Bernard and Job → Rorbach (Frankfurt), and the → *Rötteler Chronik*. Jacob → Lubbe of Danzig is a rare northern example, writing in German-speaking East Prussia, now Poland. In Bohemia, where the family chronicles begin in the fifteenth century, the early examples were also in German, notably those of Wenceslaus → Thomendorf, Johann Grozman and Lukas Leupold; only Bartoš of Prácheňany wrote in Czech. See → Family chronicles of the Czech Lands.

4. France

Family chronicles in the strict sense are less common in France. A fourteenth-century example is Bertrand → Boysset, an urban lawyer who used a vernacular chronicle of his family as a preface to his Latin political history. In France, family chronicles are traditionally placed within the category *livres de raison*, household account books which commonly contain other information. The *Archives nationales* list over 1250 *livres de raison* written in France between the fourteenth and the twentieth centuries. Most of these are postmedieval but there are some interesting medieval examples as well, such as the *Livre de messire Jacques de Lalaing* (Valenciennes, BM, ms. 665, fifteenth-century), the *Livre d'heures de la famille de Crequy* (Rouen, BM, ms. 896, 15th–16th century), the *Livre de raison de Jean Artaud* (Avignon, BM, ms. 3047, 14th–15th).

5. Byzantine world

There are a number of histories of the leading families of Byzantine society, from the imperial family down. In the fourteenth century, for example, the Emperor → Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos wrote what could be described as a family chronicle. Unlike most imperial dynastic chronicles, this has the personal tone of a family chronicle, though it does pursue propagandistic aims. The most famous family chronicle from the Greek world is the fifteenth-century → *Chronicle of the Tocco*, charting the history of a western family which rose to power in the Ionian islands, but it too is a chronicle which pursues political aims. A Greek chronicle which comes closer to the mundane description of the everyday of a normal family might be the *Chronicle of Georgios → Sphrantzes*, also fifteenth century; though Sphrantzes held high office, there is no official agenda in his writing.

For Greek chronicles of very ordinary families we must look to the short chronicles, often fragmentarily transmitted or entered on blank pages of manuscripts of other works. A good example from the fifteenth century is the chronicle of Ioannes Kanaboutzes: see → *Brachéa Chroniká* no. 121. Other examples are *Brachéa Chroniká* nos. 31, 43/44; 87; 91; 99; 108.

6. Jewish

In the Jewish tradition, two writers of the eleventh century have been regarded as family chroniclers: → Ahima'atz ben Paltiel and Evyatar ben Eliyah ha-Kohen (see → Jewish historiography). However, although these are a parallel phenomenon, the fact that they are significantly earlier should warn us against uncritically placing them in the same tradition.

7. Aristocratic house chronicles in Germany and England

The term "family chronicle" has also been applied to the late medieval house chronicles of the lower nobility, works such as the sixteenth-century *Zimmerische Chronik*. These are much more strongly representational in nature, sometimes with rich illustrations. While the *Zimmersche Chronik* was written by a family member, Count Froben Christoph von Zimmern, others were commissioned and are therefore professional works lacking the intimacy of the bourgeois family chronicle. They are therefore a slightly different phenomenon.

Probably the most famous German example is the *Truchsesschronik*, the first version of which was the work of Matthias von Pappenheim, who had already written a more personal chronicle of his own family. Commissioned by Georg Truchsess von Waldburg, it is a magnificent work of dynastic legitimation, attempting to anchor historically the relatively young noble family of Waldburg. Further examples are the *Zollernchronik*, in which the text takes second place to the illustrations, and Sebastian Küng's *Chronik der Grafen und Herzöge von Württemberg*. All of these are from the sixteenth century.

There are a number of examples of this from England. *Pickering's chronicle* (see → Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin) is a combination of a genealogical chronicle from Adam to the Battle of St Albans (1454) with a chronicle of the Percy family, attributed to Thomas Pickering, abbot of Whitby from 1462–1475. The → *Beauchamp Pageant* is a collection of narrative passages and drawings illustrating the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, which has been described as a calculated piece of family propaganda, and bears element reminiscent of other

noble house chronicles. It was probably commissioned by a family member, Anne Beauchamp, but written by someone else. And the Rous Roll (two versions, English and Latin) by John → Rous is a history of Earls of Warwick from their legendary beginnings to Richard III, presumably written to flatter R III and his wife Anne Neville. All three of these are mid- to late-fifteenth century.

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GRAEME DUNPHY

Family chronicles of the Czech Lands

15th and 16th centuries. Bohemia. Family records of the lower nobility in Latin, Czech and German.

The first family chronicle in the Czech Lands appeared in 1404, when an unknown intellectual in Middle Bohemia began to record the events of his family's life—births, deaths and marriages—together with some short historical records about the events in his region, in Latin on a blank sheet of the manuscript of the letters by Peter of Blois and other texts. Other members of this Catholic family, which moved to Vienna and Znojmo (southern Moravia) during the Hussite revolution, continued to write the records till 1426. Manuscript: Vienna, ÖNB, 12.503.

In the 2nd half of the 15th century a yeoman and rich burgher, draper and mine entrepreneur of Kutná Hora, named Bartoš of Práchnany (1444–1510), wrote in Czech an account of Bohemian history from 929 to his own time, and the history of the town of Kutná Hora (the most considerable town in medieval Bohemia after Prague). He included notes concerning the private life and career of his family members and their participation in the town politics. According to his instructions the history including the familial records was continued by his sons John (d. 1521) and Nicolas (1485–1550), and other members of his family. Bartoš' text is only preserved as a part of memoirs (book I–IV and VI) written by Bartoš' great grandson Nicolas Dačický of Heslov (1555–1626). Four manuscripts of Memoirs survived to this day, the most important: Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, V C 11.

During the years 1485–1520, the alderman of Olomouc Johann Grozman (Grossmann) recorded briefly the events of his family's life and of the history of the town of Olomouc in German. Two final records are written by his brother Sebastian, canon in the Olomouc chapter. Manuscript: Vienna, ÖNB, ms. 14869, fol. 226^v.

The last known family records in the medieval Czech Lands were written in German by Lukas Leupold (1463–1531), rector of the school in Jihlava, in 1495–1531. They were included in a history of the town of Jihlava presented in the wider context of Bohemian history, which is preserved in a later town chronicle by Lukas' grandson Martin Leupold von Löwenthal (d. 1624). It survives in a unique manuscript, Jihlava, Státní okresní archiv, Písečná pozůstalost Leopoldů z Löwenthalu (written inheritance of Leopolds of Löwenthal), without shelf-mark.

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MARIE BLÁHOVÁ

Fantosme, Jordan

fl. 1174. England. Fantosme may have been a clerk at Winchester when he wrote his 2065-line Anglo-Norman verse account of contemporary events (1173–74). He claims to have witnessed some but not all of the events narrated. There are some errors of fact in his account of the campaign against the rebels in East Anglia but he gives considerable and authoritative detail about Henry II's wars against the Scots and in the North of England. Presenting the tensions between Henry II and his eldest son, Fantosme manages to show some sympathy for the Young King, while not condoning his rebellion against his father, who is described as "the best king who ever lived". In his own comments Fantosme clearly sees the hand of God in the events he narrates. The narrative is told clearly and dramatically with considerable use of direct discourse and sustained narrative momentum. Much critical attention has been given to Fantosme's versification, now recognised as innovative and skilful. Two manuscripts survive: Durham, Cathedral Library, C IV 27, and Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 104 (incomplete text). There was considerable interest in the text in the 19th century when it was given no less than three editions and three translations.

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MARJANNE AILES

Fasciculus temporum, Veldener version

1480. Low Countries. Middle Dutch translation of Werner → Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*, complemented with a series of prose chronicles on the kings of France and England and the princes of several principalities of the Low Countries, namely Brabant, Utrecht, Flanders, Holland, Guelders and Cleves, using the same complicated layout as the original. The smaller chronicles, which enlarge the text by 70%, have their focus explicitly on the (legendary) origins of the provinces.

The *editio princeps* was produced in Utrecht in 1480 by Jan (or Johan) Veldener, who had already printed an edition of the original Latin *Fasciculus* in Leuven in 1475. He is no longer considered to be the translator and author of the texts. Several of the added chronicles make extensive use of the → *Goutsch Chronijcxken* and Johannes de → *Beke's Die Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*. A significant proportion of the texts are composed of skeletal information on the different dynasties, and contain little else. Yet, the edition seems to have been popular: at least 115 copies have survived and at least two contemporary chronicles cite the text, namely Nicolas → *Clopper's Florarium temporum* and the → *Kattendijk chronicle*. To contemporaries it seems to have been an interesting compilation of world history. Moreover, it is an attractive book, showing a complex graphic design taken over from the Latin version and here applied to the universal as well as the regional chronicles. There are 21 woodcuts, which are repeated throughout the volume and are coloured in several copies. Eight of those are original to this edition and were designed locally.

Veldener's composition is as follows:

1. fol. 1^r–193^r. Dutch translation of the *Fasciculus temporum*.

2. fol. 194^r–217^r. Short history of France.
3. fol. 218^r–231^v. Short history of England.
4. fol. 232^r–243^v. *Dit sijn die cronijcken van Brabant wie dat die hertoghen ende princen waren*.
5. fol. 244^r–274^v. *Dit sijn die cronijcken van Utrecht ende van den bisdom ende van den ghesticht van Utrecht hoe dat yerst began. Ende van al den biscoppn (sic) die daer gheweest hebben hoe langhe dat elck gheregniert heeft ende eerst te beghinnen van Vrieslant ende Hollant*.
6. fol. 275^r–282^v. *Dit sijn die cronijcken ende gheslachten der edelre princen der greven van Vlaendren opt cortste hoe si eerst quamen ende voere vervolchde*.
7. fol. 283^r–314^v. Chronicle of Holland.
8. fol. 315^r–321^v. *Dit is dat beghinne ende oerspronck des lants van Ghelre ende Cronijcken van den princen van Ghelre*.
9. fol. 322^r–327^v. *Dit is dat beghinne ende oerspronck des lants van Cleve ende cronijcken van den edelen princen van Cleve*.
10. fol. 328^r. *Hoe Agrippina eerst begrepen wort dat nu Colen hiet ende alle die biscoppen van Colen die daer geweest hebben*.
11. fol. 329^r. *Dit sijn die biscoppen van Ludick die gheweest sijn eerst tot heynden Tongherene ende daer na tot Maestricht, daer na tot Ludick vervolghende die een na den anderen*.
12. fol. 328^v–329^v. *Dit sijn die cronijcken van den beghinnen van den edelen greven van der Mercke ende van den edelen greve van den Berghe die namaels hertoghen worden*.

Latin and German translations of several of the chronicles are found in Munich, BSB, cgm 1218, and a manuscript of a translation of the full series in Latin, formerly from the library of Zacharias von Uffenbach (1683–1734) who also owned the manuscript of the → *Annales Gandenses*, was lost in the destruction of the University of Leuven in WWI. Of this series, two chronicles are preserved in edition by A. Matthaëus (*Veteris aevi analecta*, IX) under the title *Cronica de Trajecto et eius episcopatu ac ortu Frisiae; Cronica de Holland et eius comitatu*, three only in a manuscript by the same (Berlin, SB, Phillipps 1889: *Cronicae et generationes comitum et principum de Flandria breviter compilata; Chronica Brabantiae; Cronicae terrae Clivensis ac principum eius*) and one in that manuscript and a second 18th-century copy of the Louven manuscript (Munich, BSB,

clm 10434a: → *Beginsel des Lantz van Gelre*). The relation between the Leuven and Berlin versions is unclear.

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LEO FABRIEK
ANNEMIEKE VERBOON

Fasti Berolinenses

4th or 5th century. Byzantium or Egypt. Fragmentary Greek *consularia* (see → *Consularia* and *fasti*) for the years 251–70, 306, 312–7, 326–38, with ten historical entries and four illustrations, written on a single damaged piece of papyrus in Berlin (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Papyrus 13296). This is an odd document, since it is a Greek translation of two distinct Latin traditions: on the one hand consular *fasti* that are closely related to the precursor of the → *Fasti Vindobonenses* and of → Prosper, and on the other, historical entries that for the most part derive from the Greek translation of the Constantinopolitan precursor of the → *Consularia Constantinopolitana*. Alexandria and Constantinople are the obvious candidates for place of compilation.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Fasti Ostienses

ca AD 180. Italy. Discovered over the course of many years of excavation in Ostia, the dated fragments of the Latin *Fasti* currently extend from 49 BC to AD 175, though the size of the panels indicates that it could have extended from ca 80 BC to ca AD 178. The basis of the inscription is consular *fasti* (s.v. → *Consularia* and *fasti*) with suffect consuls, the local magistrates of Ostia, and the local priests of Vulcan. Into this list have been inserted historical entries involving the emperor and the imperial family, derived from official public announcements (often designed for annual commemoration), as well as other noteworthy local events. It seems to have been first erected in 12 BC.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Fasti Vindobonenses

(Viennese *fasti*)

5th and 6th century. Italy. Latin → *consularia* and *fasti* surviving in two recensions, called *priores* and *posteriores* by MOMMSEN from their original order of recension, found in a single 15th-century manuscript (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 3416), forming a history of Rome from Romulus to 493 (*priores*) and Caesar to 539 (*posteriores*). The core of the work is *fasti* from 44 BC (highly corrupt over its first few decades), becoming *consularia* in 379, where frequent historical entries first appear. The *priores* add a list of the seven kings to the beginning. The *posteriores* are highly lacunose and much more corrupt than the *priores*, which are also lacunose between 403 and 455. The → *Excerpta Sangallensia* and → *Excerpta Latina Barbari* derive from a closely related recension of these two works. All four are primary witnesses to the → *Consularia Italica*.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Fau, Simon

15th century. Low Countries. County of Namur (modern Belgium). Little is known of Simon Fau (born 1414) except that he was probably a cleric, quite possibly a canon of the Premonstran Order in Floreffe (Namur). He enjoyed close relationships with the abbots of Floreffe in the mid-15th century. Probable author of the vernacular French *Chronique rimée de l'abbaye de Floreffe* (verse chronicle of the abbey of Floreffe).

The chronicle was written between November 1462 and February 1463. In 3570 lines of crossed rhyme (plus a prologue in prose), it covers the period from the foundation of the Abbey of Floreffe in 1121 until 1462. Regional history, more specifically that of the County of Namur, briefly emerge as a point of interest up to the time of the county's incorporation in the Burgundian state in 1419. Sources include the anonymous *Annales Floreffenses* the *Compendium chronicorum* and *Catalogus abbatum Floreffensium* of → Peter of Herentals, but also the *Roman de la Rose*. The autograph and sole manuscript is Brussels, KBR, 18064–18069, fol. 187^v–238^r [Fig. 20].

The view in older scholarship that the chronicle was written by Henri d'Opprebais (canon of Floreffe from 1455, and Abbot of Beaufort in Liège from 1470, died in 1491) has been discredited.

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CHRISTIAN DURY
STEVEN VANDERPUTTEN

Favent, Thomas

[Fovent]

d. 1404. England. Clerk and civil servant in London. Received a clerical living at Berwick St. Leonard (Wilts.) 1390; collector of the petty subsidy, London, 1391–95; later clerical livings in Wiltshire; his will was sealed at St. Mary Bishopsgate, London. He was the author of short Latin chronicle of the anti-Ricardian parliaments of 1386–88, *Historia siue narracio de modo et forma mirabilis parliamenti*, which is extant in two manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rolls 9 (*Summary Catalogue*, Bodley misc. 2963) and the recently discovered manuscript owned by John Gordan III of Manhattan, NY.

The *Historia* may exemplify the early "political pamphlet," but with limited circulation. The narrative opens with a summary of young Richard led astray by a corrupting group of nobility ca 1386–87, then dwells in detail on the trials, convictions and executions of the king's favourites in the Merciless Parliament of 1388, led by the Lords Appellant. Favent's satire of Richard's favourites nearly matches the parliament's mercilessness, and he is usually considered an Appellant propagandist. But OLIVER shows that his career advanced by family connections not by Appellant patronage. The narrative is a many-sided and thoroughly London piece: partisan, manically moralizing, but suggesting grim sympathy for some victims of the purge. Its fascination with the period's most remarkable parliamentary trial explains the first partial English translation printed in 1641 during the Long Parliament, perhaps prompted by Archbishop Laud's parliamentary trial and execution.

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Fig. 20 Simon Fau, *Chronique de Floreffe*. The author experiencing the allegorical visions of the prologue, set against the background of the abbey of Floreffe and its surroundings. Manuscript date ca 1462–3. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België / Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 18064–69, fol. 191^v.

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ANDREW GALLOWAY

Fecini, Tommaso

1441–95. Italy. Officer of the city of Siena and author of one of the so-called *Cronache senesi* (Sienese chronicles) dealing with the history of the city from the Creation to present day. Few details of his life can be established for certain. Of humble origin, he held several political offices from 1467 to 1492 in territories controlled by the Sienese state. Despite these positions, however, he never accumulated great wealth, and following his death his wife and seven children were forced to beg for financial support from the Sienese Republic. His chronicle was composed in the second half of the 15th century and covers the period from 1431 to 1479, though it was probably intended to reach 1485. Also known as *Cronaca Aldobrandini* (Aldobrandini Chronicle) or *Cronaca del Bisdomini* (Bisdomini's Chronicle), the text is based on earlier works which Fecini collected, to which he added the final part. The authorship of the chronicle, however, has been hotly debated among scholars. The oldest manuscript, badly damaged at the end, is Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, A VI 8 e g.

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FEDERICO ZULIANI

Feer, Ludwig

before 1462–6th September 1503. Switzerland. Son of Lucerne mayor Johannes Feer; town scribe from 1493. The surviving autograph of Feer's chronicle, begun on 15th July 1499, fills eight complete and four partial pages of a 33-folio velum manuscript (Lucerne, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, BB ms. 126 fol). Feer claims to write for the utility of all present and future members of Lucerne's council, but the main purpose of the chronicle is obviously to show that the Feer family served Lucerne as faithful officials and soldiers. Apart from an opening paragraph on a fire in Lucerne in 1462 and a note on the outbreak of a venereal disease in 1495, the entries are centred around military expeditions from 1490 onwards, and especially one in 1499, during the war against Maximilian I, that involved Feer, his three brothers, and other male members of his family as officers of Lucerne's civic army. As sources, Feer quotes "old books that are not in use any more", but of the → *Chronikalien der Stadtbücher von Luzern*, he only uses the list of town scribes since 1357, which appears as a Latin insert into his otherwise High German text. He replicates five lists of Lucerne and confederate soldiers involved in the 1499 campaigns; all contain the names of himself and his relatives. The main body of information relies thus on eyewitness accounts by the author and other men involved in the battles of the Swabian war.

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REGULA SCHMID

Fernández de Heredia, Juan

ca 1310–96. Aragon (Iberia). Master of the Order of St. John and author of the *Grant Crónica de Espanya*, as well as multiple translations in Aragonese.

Fernández de Heredia served in the court of the Aragonese King Pere IV el Ceremonios and

was active in many diplomatic dealings, particularly those surrounding the union of Valencia and Aragon and the defence of Mallorca. Sent by Pere to Avignon, he quickly became heavily involved in Papal matters and played a significant role in papal negotiations in the context of the Hundred Years War. Close to the Aragonese Pope Benedict XIII during the Schism, he had previously been appointed Master of the Order of St. John in September 1377 by Gregory XI, and his crusading activities in the Eastern Mediterranean made him particularly familiar with Greek culture.

He made Aragonese translations of Latin works by Thucydides, Plutarch, Sallust and Pompeius Trogus and various travel books, but he is best known as the author of four chronicles. Three of these are fundamentally translations: the *Crónica de los conqueridores* is a two part chronicle in Aragonese which recounts the biographies of a series of conquerors in world history, ranging from Tubal to Fernando III and Jaume I, and draws on sources as diverse as Plutarch, → Geoffrey of Monmouth and his own *Grant Crónica de Espanya*. Part One is contained in Madrid, BNE, ms. 2211 and Part Two in Madrid, BNE, ms. 10134. A second chronicle, the *Crónica de los Emperadores* is an Aragonese translation of the *Epitome Historiarum* of Ioannes → Zonaras contained in Madrid, BNE, 10131. A third, the *Crónica de la Morea*, translates pre-existing chronicles of the history of the Morea in the 13th century and is contained in the same manuscript.

He is best known, however, for the *Grant Crónica de Espanya*. This is a three part history of Spain on the Alfonsine model. Only two of the parts survive: the first, dealing with the period from Tubal to the fall of Spain in 711, in Madrid, BNE, 10133 and the third, which deals with the period from the death of Fernando IV to the capture of Tarifa in the reign of Alfonso XI and is contained in Madrid, BNE, 10134. The *Grant Crónica* is an extensive compilation of sources including the → *General estoria*, the → *Estoria de Espanna*, a translation of → Lucas de Túy's *Chronicon Mundi*, the → *Estoria delos godos*, → Sánchez de Valladolid's *Crónica de Alfonso XI* and a variety of other works which he had translated. The ambitious scope of the chronicle is rivalled only by the Alfonsine chronicles of the 13th century. It is likely that Fernández de Heredia had a team of scholars working for him. The manuscripts in which his works survive are richly illuminated.

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AENGUS WARD

Fernández de Mendoza, Diego

fl. 1474–1501. Castile (Iberia). Author of the Castilian-language *Novenario estorial* (1501?). Practically nothing is known of Fernández de Mendoza beyond his authorship of a genealogy of Spanish nobility and this chronicle of Spain, from Creation to the Catholic Monarchs' reign. The title refers to its division into nine books, evoking Jesus's nine months in Mary's womb. One 16th-century copy survives (Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, ms. II 213 and 214), but the last four books covering the period 1307–1501 are missing. Based primarily on Diego de → Valera's *Crónica de España abreviada*, it also incorporates material from Pedro de → Corral's *Crónica del rey don Rodrigo*, from the → *Crónica de Castilla*, and from → Pedro Afonso's *Crónica de 1344*. The *Novenario* (like Diego → Rodríguez de Almela's *Compendio historial*) offers an excellent example of uncritical use of Corral's essentially fictional work and evidences his reception in the 15th century.

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MICHAEL AGNEW

Ferrandi, Petrus

13th century. France. Petrus Ferrandi, who is known to have died between 1252 and 1259, is the author of a chronicle of the Dominican order which covers the period from the arrival

in Toulouse of the order's founder, Dominicus de Gúzman (1203), to the election of Humbertus de Romanis, the fifth Master-General of the Order (1254). It was long attributed to → Gerald Frachet; it was only in 1932 that H.C. SCHEEBEN advanced a compelling case for Ferrandi's authorship. The chronicle focuses on the early expansion of the Order, its alliances with secular princes and its relationship to the Curia. Both the decisions taken by the General Chapters from 1220 and the life and activity of the different general masters are of particular interest. Statistical information, such as accurate lists of Dominican bishops and cardinals, appears regularly in the text. The text, written in a simple and unadorned Latin, survives in one manuscript, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, F. 28, fol. 176–185.

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RALF LÜTZELSCHWAB

Ferreti, Ferretto de'

1294–1337. Italy. Vicentine notary and historian, who wrote a long history of events in northern Italy between 1250 and 1318, as well as a poem on the origins of the della Scala family. Born in Vicenza in 1294 into a family of judges and notaries, Ferreto de' Ferreti was trained as a notary in his native city and elected head (*gastaldo*) of the College of Notaries in 1320. In addition to his work in city government, Ferreti studied ancient authors, mainly the Latin poets, wrote a number of priapic verses (which survive only in fragments) and a long poem of the death of Dante, of whom he was an early reader.

Ferreti's main historical work, which is extant in a 17th-century chartaceous manuscript: Vicenza, Biblioteca civica Bertoliana, ms 314 (*olim* G.7.9.17 and Gonz. 21.10.12) is his *Historia rerum in Italia gestarum* (History of Italian deeds), which narrates, in five books, the political events of northern Italy from 1250 to 1318, concentrating on the descent of Emperor Henry VII into Italy, his

struggles there, his coronation at Rome, and early death in 1314. To provide context, the history begins with the struggle of the Hohenstaufens and Angevins for the control of Italy, followed by a long section on the Habsburg rulers between 1291 and 1308.

An eyewitness to many events he describes, Ferreti celebrates the achievements of Cangrande della Scala, especially his liberation of Vicenza from Paduan control. He opposes Albertino → Mussato's criticism of the Veronese lord, but he borrows phrases and content from Mussato's *Historia Augusta* (Imperial History). These include echoes from classical authors and view the value of history as a guide to right action in this life. Ferreti's major poetical work, the *De Scaligerorum origine poema* (Poem on the origin of della Scala), treats the origins of the della Scala family. Dedicated to Cangrande della Scala, it was written between his takeover of Padua in September 1328 and death on 22 July 1329.

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BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Festus

4th century. Thrace (Bulgaria). Proconsul of Asia. Written in winter 369–70, apparently in Marcianopolis, Festus' *Breviarium* is the shortest surviving epitome of Roman history. It was written for the emperor Valens and is for the most part devoted to an enumeration of the provinces and Roman hostilities with the Parthians and Persians. It is therefore quite different in conception and purpose from the other *breviaria* of the 4th century. The most important source was the

→ *Kaisergeschichte*. There are ten surviving manuscripts of the 9th–12th centuries, of which the best is the 10th-century Bamberg, SB, msc. class. 31. In spite of the large number of manuscripts, the text's unusual content and extreme brevity meant that it had little later influence.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Filelfo, Francesco

July 1398–July 1481. Italy. Humanist from Tolentino and the leading Hellenist of his generation, whose eminent academic career included a seven-year period of study in Constantinople and teaching posts in Bologna, Florence, Padua, Pavia, Rome, and Siena. Filelfo spent much of his working life in Milan in the service of first the Visconti and then the Sforza rulers of the city; as their cultural advisor, he exerted a profound influence upon the court's literary and artistic circles. Between ca 1450 and 1473 he composed the Latin *Sforziad* or *Sfortiades* (About the Sforzas), a Virgilian epic poem in honour of the talented *condottiere* Francesco Sforza (d. 1466). The work presents a lengthy account of the latter's rapid rise to power in 1447 as well as a detailed record of the new dukedom he established in 1450. Making use of documentary materials and personal recollections, Filelfo's writings are a rich source for the study of the ambitious founder of the Sforza dynasty and his magnificent court. The project as a whole demonstrates the vital role that humanist writing could play in supporting the cause of a contemporary ruler. Several manuscript copies survive, including two in Milan's Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 97 sup and R 12 sup.

Filelfo is also renowned for his learned correspondence in Greek, Latin, and the vernacular that bears witness to his enduring friendships with the most distinguished scholars, princes, and clerics of the age. Over two thousand of his Latin

letters are known and many of them were selected for publication in his *Epistolae*, the most complete edition of which was printed in Venice in 1502. As well as chronicling his own career from 1427 up to 1477, the missives cast light upon the culture and society of 15th-century Italy. Among the known manuscript copies of the edited letter-book is Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, no. 873, which, while not being an autograph, was once located in Filelfo's own library.

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FLAVIO BOGGI

Filipepi, Simone

1443/4–1512. Italy. Born in Florence as one of a family of nine children, Filipepi is best known as the brother of the Renaissance painter Sandro Botticelli. He spent his working life mostly in Naples and Rome in the service of various commercial enterprises. In 1494 he returned to Florence where he became a supporter of the radical Dominican Savonarola, who ruled the city after the fall of the Medici regime. His name appears with 300 other citizens on a petition to the Pope to revoke Savonarola's excommunication.

In 1503 he began writing a *Cronaca* (Chronicle) of the years 1489–1503, which is based heavily on his own experience, and is the main source of information on his own life. The original text is lost, but the *Cronaca* is known in lengthy extracts (some 65 pages of the edition), partly summaries, which appear together with three of Savonarola's sermons in two late 16th-century manuscripts, Vatican, Archivio segreto, miscellanea ARM II 48, and BAV, vat. lat. 5426, the latter only recently discovered.

In the manuscripts, the surviving text is divided into two sections, the first on general history, the second on Savonarola's life and preaching. Filipepi's sympathies are declared in the opening sentence: *Fra Girolamo Savonarola da Ferrara cominciò a predicare in Fiorenza l'anno 1489,*

come profeta et mandato da Dio, annunciando il flagello a tutta la Italia, et esortando ciascuno a penitenza (Brother Girolamo Savonarola of Ferrara began preaching in Florence in 1489, as a prophet and sent by God, declaring the purge to all Italy, and exhorting everyone to penance). The second part also includes reports of discussions with Botticelli in his workshop; as Savonarola had destroyed many of Botticelli's masterpieces in the *Falò delle vanità* (bonfire of the vanities), it must have been a difficult family encounter.

Filipepi also wrote a lost biography of Savonarola.

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GRAEME DUNPHY

Filippi dell'Antella, Guido

1254–1313. Central Italy. In one of the earliest examples of Florentine *ricordanze* (family memoirs), Guido di Filippo di Ghidone dell'Antella provides a brief history of his own household, well known in Florentine mercantile circles, recounting his travels and steps taken to ensure his family's financial well-being in late 13th and early 14th-century Florence.

The work begins humbly, with the author claiming only to write some of his recollections, in a statement he dates to 15 March 1298. He briefly notes his early years working abroad in areas such as Genoa, Venice, Nice, Naples, and Acre, then records the specifics of many personal financial transactions, including the settlement of his marriage, real estate transfers, and quittances from companies for whom he had worked. In one section, Guido sets down the financial details of the division of his inheritance between himself and his brother, including the name of the notary who prepared and registered each separate transaction. In another, he notes important moments of family life, including births and deaths of legitimate and illegitimate children and the marriage of his sister.

After Guido's death, also recorded in the manuscript, his descendants used the book to track household debts in the late 14th century, and then

in 1405, to note the forced exile of one of Guido's descendants, Francesco di Filippo dell'Antella. The autograph manuscript is Florence, BNC, II IV 52.

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LAURA MORREALE

Fillastre, Guillaume

ca 1400–73. France. Councillor of Philip the Good, chancellor of the Golden Fleece, Bishop of Tournai. Author of a "didactic chronicle" in French, *Histoire de la Toison d'or* (History of the Golden Fleece) commissioned in 1468 by Charles the Bold, an account of the story of the six fleeces (Jason, Jacob, Gideon, Mesa, Job and David). Largely moral and didactic, the text is based on Ovid and the Bible, and the three surviving books discourse on magnanimity, justice and prudence. The best text of Books 1 & 2 is Brussels, KBR, 9027–9028, but Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 465 2° is the only manuscript containing book 3.

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TANIA VAN HEMELRYCK

Firdawsī

[ʿAbū al-Qāsim Mansūr ibn asan
Firdawsī / Ferdosi]

ca 329/30–ca 416 AH (940/41–1025 AD). Persia. A native of Tūs (Greek Susia, in Northern Iran), poet and writer of the Persian national epic *Shāhnāma* (Book of kings). Little is known about his life, since we have to rely on his own statements and on the dates given by his biographer, the Persian poet Nezāmī ʿArūzī (12th century AD), the only source for his last years. He belonged to the family of landowners, or *dehqāns* and had

possessions in Tūs. It is unclear whether he received any formal education in sciences of his time. Firdawsī was a Shi'ite, as is apparent from the *Shāhnāma* and also confirmed by Nezāmī 'Arūzī, and this fact was important for the abuse he later experienced at court.

According to his own account, he began to work on the composition of the *Shāhnāma* after 365 AH (975 AD), after the death of Abū Mansūr Daqīqī (942–80 AD). He finished the first version around 384 (994), and then made a number of continuations. We know that he was looking for a patron for his work and that he first approached Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna. He finished his epic poem in the year 400 (1010), according to dates in the *Shāhnāma*. According to Nezāmī 'Arūzī, Firdawsī took his epic to Ghazni and presented it to Mahmūd, but because of the intervention of envious rivals and because of his religious orientation he received a poor reception at the court, and the Sultan, reneging on an earlier promise of 60,000 dinars, paid him only 20,000 dirhams. Firdawsī spent the money in a bathhouse and drinking beer, splitting the Sultan's present between the two men who attended him in this night. Fearing the Sultan's anger he then fled from the city by night. Nezāmī tells us that the Sultan later regretted his behaviour towards the poet and sent camel-loads of indigo to the value of 20,000 dinars to Tūs, but Firdawsī had died by the time they arrived. He was buried in his own garden at Tūs, because as a Shi'ite he could not be buried in the Muslim cemetery.

This epic text runs to 60,000 couplets, with more than 60 stories and over 900 chapters. It opens with the creation of the universe and describes the development of the Persian civilization and the reign of the first Iranian rulers, whose rule is characterized by a struggle between good and evil forces. The cycle of this first rulers ends with the story of three brothers who inherited three parts of a divided kingdom and the assassination of the brother who ruled over Iran, which led to a series of wars. Between the war scenes Firdawsī inserts episodes of love and passion. After the heroic description of the main figures of these wars and the early reigns he comes to the rule of the Sāsānid kings. As a *dehqān*, Firdawsī was familiar with the customs of Iran and incorporated his knowledge and ethical codes into his work, making his own ethical code the heroic code of behavior of the personalities described in his work. We can find, for example, fairness towards enemies and

the importance of a good reputation. The book is full of ethical values as patriotism, praise for knowledge, condemnation of laziness, praise of justice and tolerance and the profound belief in the unstableness of the world. Towards the end we also find his criticism of the enemies of Iran. Though not organized strictly chronologically, the work takes us from the creation until the lifetime of the poet, with history subdivided into three eras: the mythical age, the heroic age and the historical age. The greatest part, nearly two third deals with the heroic age. The *Shāhnāma* is written in classical Persian mixed with Arabic words.

Firdawsī's artistic style of poetry involves the use of the most important figures of speech, such as hyperbole, proverbial expressions, metaphors, parables, but omits figures which are too complex for the understanding. In the centre of his attention are the descriptions of wars, peoples and nature. The embedded moral stories are vividly developed with dialogues and dramatic moments like the conflict in the story of *Rostam* and *Esfandiār*. As Firdawsī's sources are lost, it is difficult to judge which parts are influenced by the style of his predecessors. His main sources were the *Khvatay Namak* (book of kings), a Middle Persian Pahlavi opus commissioned by Khusraw I (531–79 AD), and Abū Mansūr Daqīqī, a poet who wrote on Zoroastrian history.

Several handwritten manuscripts survive, some richly illustrated but none is the autograph. The earliest illuminated manuscript dates from 1300 AD. The most important illuminated manuscript is the Great Mongol Shahname / Demotte manuscript which is dispersed as individual pages and dates from 1330 AD. The fifty-seven surviving illustrations are scattered among different private and public libraries and collections, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Smithsonian and the Worcester Museum. The second important manuscript is the intact Bayasanghori Manuscript which now can be seen at the Golestan Palace in Tehran and was commissioned by Prince Bayasanghor (1399–1433 AD) of the Timurid dynasty but which offers a smaller number of illustrations than with the others. The third important manuscript is the Houghton Manuscript, also dispersed, which was presented to the Ottoman Sultan Murad III in 1576. Some illuminations from this are in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, while others were bought by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva.

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Flandria generosa

12th to the 16th century. Low Countries. The name *Flandria generosa*, first used by dom Georges Galopin in the 17th century, covers a group of chronicles of Flanders written over a period of some four centuries. Although in the first instance the designation refers to a smaller group of Latin texts, the *Flandria Generosa*-complex also includes French, Dutch and Italian translations and adaptations. The corpus has been divided into three parts, distinguished by the letters A, B and C.

The *Flandria Generosa A* is not a chronicle *stricto sensu* but a dynastic genealogy, probably written between 1164 and 1168 by a monk of the abbey of St. Bertin (St. Omer). It starts with the beginning of the reign of Liederik of Harelbeke, the first legendary count of Flanders, in 792, and continues to the events of the year 1164 (reign of Thierry of Alsace). Besides narrative sources, such as the *Chronographia* of → Sigebert of Gembloux (written between 1088 and 1112), and archival documents, like the cartulary of St. Bertin's abbey,

the author mainly relied on the genealogy which Lambert of St. Omer (also a monk of St. Bertin's) included ca 1120 in his *Liber Floridus*. Lambert's text, relating the history of Flanders from 792 till 1120 (with a brief continuation concerning the events of 1127–28), is based on the *Genealogia Bertiniana*. The three genealogies, often referred to as *Genealogiae comitum Flandriae*, laid the basis for the dynastic historiography in Flanders.

The *Flandria Generosa A* is preserved in several manuscripts. The oldest, the autographic character of which is currently under debate, dates from the end of the 12th century (St. Omer, BM, ms. 746). The text was continued in the 13th, 14th and 15th century. The *Continuatio Gislensis* contains information until 1206 (reign of Joan of Constantinople), the *Continuatio Bruxellensis* until 1196 (reign of Baldwin IX), the *Continuatio Claromariscensis* until 1347 (reign of Louis of Nevers) and the *Continuatio Brugensis* until 1405 (reign of John the Fearless). Although sometimes influenced by their colleagues, the authors of these genealogies mainly worked independently of each other.

The *Flandria Generosa B* chronicle was probably compiled in the late 12th or early 13th century. It is not a continuation but an interpolated version of the A-text. Also ending with the events of 1164, the anonymous author adds information to the initial genealogy. These additions are not equally spread over the text, but especially concern the second half of the 11th and the first half of the 12th century. They are not original, but taken from several narrative sources. The author uses the → *Historia monasterii Hasnoniensis* (second half of the 11th century), the *Chronographia* of Sigebert of Gembloux, the genealogy of → Lambert of St. Omer and, possibly, also the *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum* of → Andreas of Marchiennes (end of the 12th century). Besides these, the chronicler's main sources are the *Liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis* of → Herman de Tournai (written 1142–47) and the *Vita Caroli comitis* of Walterus of Théroutanne (probably written 1127–28). The most elaborate part of the text concerns the murder of count Charles the Good in 1127, and subsequent events, especially the succession crisis in the county of Flanders. The B-text has been preserved in two manuscripts: Munich, BSB, clm 23583 (second half of the 13th century) and Brussels, KBR, 6410–16 (second half of the 15th century). There are two French

translations of this text: see → *Flandria generosa*, French.

The *Flandria Generosa C* is based on the *Continuatio Claromariscensis* of the A-text. The original text has been considerably developed and modified. The former genealogy thus became a proper chronicle. According to this *Catalogus et cronica principum et comitum Flandriae* (as it is called in the 15th and 16th-century manuscripts), the history of Flanders starts in 621. The extension of the list of ancestors of count Baldwin I resulted in the legend of the foresters of Flanders. In the manuscripts known today, the chronicle ends with the events in 1423 (reign of Philip the Good). The codex Hamburg, UB, Hist. 14 contains a continuation until 1437. Neither the author nor the place and date of redaction of the *Flandria Generosa C* are known but textual analysis suggests it may have originated in south-western Flanders (the region of Lille) at the end of the 14th century when Flanders was inherited by the dukes of Burgundy. The oldest manuscripts known today date, however, from the 15th century and already contain the events of the Burgundian period.

Around the same time, Dutch versions of the C-text also started to circulate. These texts are not true translations of the Latin, but adaptations provided with continuations. Two different traditions are known: the first, probably written in Bruges and known as the so-called chronicle of Jan van → Diksmuide, relates the history of Flanders from 580 until 1440. The second, edited as *Kronyk van Vlaenderen* should probably be situated in Ghent and contains information until 1467 (beginning of the reign of Charles the Bold). The Dutch versions of the *Flandria Generosa C* have, in their turn, been continued several times. One of these continuations—in a first phase until 1482 and later on till 1519—evolved towards an independent chronicle known as the → *Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen*, to which several Bruegan rhetoricians contributed. In 1531, this text was printed in Antwerp by Willem Vorsterman. An Italian translation of the *Excellente Cronike* was written in Bruges at the end of the 15th century (Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, ms. 685).

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ANN KELDERS

Flandria generosa, French [Ancienne chronique de Flandre]

13th century. Low Countries. Two independent French translations of the B text of *Flandria Generosa*.

One version of this text goes by the title *Li generacions, li parole et li lignie de le lignie des contes de Flandres* (The previous generations, the sayings and the ancestral line of the Counts of Flanders). This anonymous prose text in Picard on the events of the comital administration is in two parts, the first following the *Flandria Generosa* and the second Gualterus. It starts with Lidris de Harlebeke but the first real section is devoted to Baudouin le Fer (Baldwin Iron Arm 860–79). Much attention is devoted to Count Charles (1119–27) and the death of the conspirators against him. The text continues to the beginning of the reign of Henry II of England and the death of Guillaume de Loo (1152). The text survives in one manuscript, which

has coloured initials and titles: Brussels, KBR, ms. 9568–69, fols 1^r–40^v, mid-14th century.

The other French version of the *Flandria Generosa*, also based on the B text, is that contained in the Paris manuscript (BnF, fr. 12203, fol. 50^r–68^r, later 13th century, formerly in the possession of the counts of Flanders), which was first published under the title *Les chroniques des comtes de Flandres*. This is the text that served as the source for the first part of the → *Rijmkroniek van Vlaenderen*.

These French versions are sometimes known as *Ancienne chronique de Flandre*, though it should be noted that this title is also occasionally given to the → *Chronique de Flandre du XIV^e siècle* a later derivative of *Li generacions*.

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PETER S. NOBLE

Flete, John

ca 1398–1466. England. Prior of Westminster Abbey (Benedictine). His chronicle, given the modern title *History of Westminster Abbey* and covering AD 184–1386, is extant in London, Westminster Abbey, ms. 29, and in fragments and two post-medieval copies. It has four parts: a history of the abbey's foundation; the evidence of privileges (charters, papal bulls); a list of its relics and indulgences; and the lives of its abbots. Its sources include a lost chronicle of Westminster Abbey; an account of the abbey's consecration written ca 1072–81 by a monk Sulcard (which is also in BL, Cotton Faustina ms. A.iii), the *Life of St Mellitus* by Goscelin, and the lost *Liber Regius* written at Bury St Edmunds during Richard II's reign.

Flete's history claims that the abbey was founded in AD 184 by King Lucius, became a temple of Apollo during the Diocletian persecution, but was rebuilt by King Sebert (d. 616) and consecrated to St. Peter, who descended from Heaven to help with the event. Flete wanted to give the monks an account of their abbey's rights: *Quoniam utile est et honestum ac rationi consonum quod viri ecclesiastici et praecipue religiosi suorum locorum sive ecclesiarum privilegia dotationesque cognoscerent...* (Seeing that it is useful and proper

and moreover concordant with reason that men of the church and especially monks should know the legal privileges and endowments of their sites or churches).

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RALUCA RADULESCU

Flodoard of Reims

10th century. France. Born in 894, probably in Epernay, Flodoard studied at Reims in the school recently restored by Archbishop Fulk (882–900). Although a canon of the cathedral supported by archbishops Hervé (900–22) and Séulf (923–5) his career was jeopardised by his backing of a monk, Artaud, in the latter's attempt to be elected to the archbishopric. Artaud sent him on missions to Rome (936–9) and to the Synod of Ingelheim in 948. He was elected bishop of Noyon in 951 but was supplanted in 954 by a less scrupulous candidate. In 963, old and ill, he resigned all his benefices and died three years later. His historical works are the *Historia ecclesiae Remensis*, written between 948 and 952, and the *Annales*. He is also the author of a 20,000 word epic poem *De Triumphis Christi*.

The *Historia* (Reims, BM, 1606), dedicated to a certain "R" (probably Archbishop Robert of Trier), is of the greatest importance for our knowledge of the 9th and 10th century and is a perfect example of the *gesta episcoporum* genre. Book I goes from the mythical foundation of Reims by Remus (brother of Romulus) to the excommunication of Hugh of Vermandois in 948, giving much importance to the Roman origins and the bishop St Rémi. Book III stresses the role of Hincmar (845–82). His sources include the classical historians, saints' lives, architectural evidence, but particularly the archives with Hincmar's extensive correspondence to give a full picture of the growth of the church's possessions and institutions.

The *Annales*, covering the period 919–66, are brief notes written at the time of the events,

which though not developed give a reliable picture of eastern Francia, Lotharingia and to a lesser extent Germania. Flodoard's work was used by → Richer of St Rémi, → Sigebert of Gembloux and → Alberich of Troisfontaines.

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RÉGIS RECH

Floreke, Nikolaus

ca 1310–78/80. Germany. Town clerk in Lüneburg. Floreke wrote Lüneburg's first town chronicle for the years 1369–74, the years of the Lüneburg succession war. After the death of duke Wilhelm, Lüneburg accepted duke Magnus as successor in 1369, but changed sides to duke Albrecht in 1371, when Magnus tried to revoke the city's privileges. In 1371, the city successfully resisted an attempted capture by Magnus.

The Low German vernacular chronicle consists of five independent texts. They are inserted in the *Donatus burgensium antiquus* (town book), which contains copies of the city's most important documents. By inserting his *narratio* into the town book, Floreke claims a legal character of his description. The reasons offered for the city council's changing commitments are thus presented as legitimate and officially approved. For the year 1371, for example, Floreke suggests a motivation for the council's politics by bringing to the fore events he had previously withheld. Also the successful defense against duke Magnus is interpreted as an ordeal to justify the city's disputed politics.

Although Floreke offers Lüneburg's first description of the succession war, he had hardly any influence on the city's *memoria*, which was constructed around these events. His autograph is preserved in Lüneburg, StA, AB 1. Two copies are known.

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HEIKO DROSTE

Florenz von Wevelinghoven

fl. 1342–93. Germany. Initiator and co-author of a Latin episcopal chronicle. Descended from Lower Rhine nobility, Florenz joined the Cologne chapter around 1342, became subdeacon in 1356, papal collector in 1360, and finally bishop of Münster 1364–79 and of Utrecht from 1379 until his death in 1393. He also encouraged → Johannes von Hildesheim to write his *Historia trium regum*.

Florenz himself wrote the introduction to the *Chronica episcoporum Monasteriensium* (or *De vita et gestis episcoporum Monasteriensium*, Lives and deeds of the bishops of Münster), which was collected *ex diversis locis et codicibus... in unum libellum* (from various places and manuscripts... into one book). Besides material from the chapter archives (necrologies, catalogues of bishops etc.) this chronicle transmits a rich fund of contemporary popular narratives. Originally ending in 1379 with Florenz's own episcopacy, it was continued multiple times throughout the 15th century and translated to Low German probably soon after 1424. Most information on Florenz's life and deeds derives from the first continuator and from the German translation. The autograph and sole Latin manuscript is Münster, SA, msc. I Nr. 230; the German translation, known as *Chronik der Bischöfe von Münster*, survives in Göttingen, SB & UB, cod. ms. hist. 540, and was used by Arnd → Bevergern.

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Flores temporum

(Blossoms of the times)

ca 1300. Germany. World chronicle compendium in Latin prose. Written by an unknown Swabian Minorite (some manuscripts give Hermannus or Martinus Minorita) in the last years of the 13th century, the *Flores temporum* with its adaptations and continuations became one of the most widely spread world chronicles of the later Middle Ages in Southern Germany.

The *Flores temporum* was conceptualized as a tool for preparing homilies and sermons. Still, unlike contemporary world chronicles, it does include pre-Christian history, covering world history from the Creation to 1290/94. Beyond the six world ages the chronicle is synchronistically structured along the rows of Emperors and Popes. According to the prologue, this structure was intended to provide an exact framework to locate the saints and their deeds within world history. However, this was only fully realized up to the Carolingian era. The main source, as the author himself notes, is → Martin of Opava. Despite its broad reception and the richness of the historical material it compiles, scholars have long disregarded the *Flores temporum* as a popularistic work devoid of political or scholarly interest.

The 14th and 15th century produced a number of adaptations and continuations, amongst others those of Johannes Fistenport (for the years 1352–1421) and Johannes → Spies (for 1353–1440). The work had an intensive influence on late medieval chroniclers of Southern Germany, such as → Andreas of Regensburg, → Johann von Winterthur or the → *Gmünder Chronik*. Heinrich → Steinhöwel's partial German translation was printed in 1473 (GW 10075), and reprinted in 1531 together with a continuation written by Jakob Köbel, a relative of Steinhöwel's. However, the Latin version was not printed until 1723, when Johann Georg Eckhart included it in his 1723 *Corpus historicum medii aevi* (col. 1551–1640).

More than a hundred manuscripts and numerous fragments as well as excerpts have survived, none of which is the autograph. Against the traditional distinction of two major branches, recent research has convincingly argued for a tripartite classification of this complex manuscript tradition. Examples of the three traditions are Munich, BSB, clm 1802; Vienna, ÖNB, cod. ser. n. 4844; Basel, UB, cod. IV 10.

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Flos mundi

(Blossom of the World)

15th century. Catalonia (Iberia). A universal chronicle in Catalan from the beginning of the world. It is divided into six ages, but with a rather unusual division of these: 1. from Adam to Noah, 2. the first kingdoms of the world, 3. the early population of Spain, 4. from King David to King Zedekiah of Judea, 5. from Zedekiah to Caesar, 6. from Jesus Christ to the 14th century. The chronicle is incomplete, because in the only extant manuscript (Paris, BnF, espagnol 11) the whole section referring to the 14th century is missing; the surviving narrative is also interrupted by mutilation of the manuscript at the episode of the challenge of Bordeaux (1283) between King Pere III of Aragón and King Philip III of France.

The work takes as sources the Catalan translation of the *Chronicon* of → Guillaume de Nangis (Madrid, BNE, ms. 10235), dealing with the history of the world from creation until 1300, and it is completed with use the chronicles of Bernat → Desclot and the *Cròniques dels reis d'Aragó i comtes de Barcelona* or → *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña* of King Pere IV of Aragón (Pere III of

Barcelona) "the Ceremonious". It also employed elements of the Catalan translation of the chronicle written by Wauchier de Denain (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 352) and the *Crònica d'Espanya* (Paris, BnF, espagnol 13) attributed to Pere → Ribera de Perpinyà.

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DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Folcuin of St. Bertin [of Lobbes]

ca 935-90. Low Countries. Deacon and archivist of the monastery of St. Bertin (St. Omer, Flanders), abbot of Lobbes. Author of *gesta* of the abbots of both his monasteries.

The *Gesta abbatum Sithiensium* is a chronicle cartulary composed by Folcuin in 961/2 at the request of his abbot, Adalolf. The work is a history of the abbots and possessions of Saint Bertin's abbey from the time of its foundation (ca 650) up to the author's present, integrating charters in a narrative historical frame. A 12th-century manuscript is Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 146; St. Omer, BM, 750 dates from 1509-12.

Around 980 Folcuin wrote his second chronicle for the monastery of Lobbes, the *Gesta abbatum Lobiensium*, of which he became abbot in 965. Rather than a history of Lobbes' abbots, as the (modern) title of the work suggests, it is a history of the monastery as a place (ca 637 to ca 980). Contrary to received scholarly opinion, the chronicle of Lobbes does not contain charters, but is a fully narrative historical account, based primarily on the community's oral tradition. At the end of the work Folcuin added a collection of miracle stories, which he later edited separately. An important impulse to writing the chronicle of Lobbes was Folcuin's conflict with his godfather and rival for the abbacy, Rather of Lobbes/Verona; a conflict which led to Folcuin's temporary deposition in 971. In both of his chronicles Folcuin included autobiographical details. Folcuin's chronicle was

continued by Simon of Ghent (or St. Bertin). The *Gesta abbatum Lobiensium* has only survived in manuscripts dating from the 16th and 17th century: Amiens, BM, 499 fol. 1^v-21^v; Arras, BM, 982; Brussels, KBR, 7814-7822, fol. 68^r-119^v; Paris, BnF, lat. 13932, fol. 122-125; Paris, BnF, fonds Baluze, Arm. II, fasc. 1, nr. 3.

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IRENE VAN RENSWOUDE

Foresti, Giacomo Filippo

[Jacob of Bergamo; Iacobus Philippus Bergomensis]

1434-1520. Italy. Augustian friar, author of a Latin universal chronicle that gained wide currency in the late medieval and early modern period. Born in Solto Collina (near Bergamo), Foresti joined the Augustinian house of S. Agostino in Bergamo in 1452, where he spend most of his life, interrupted by longer stays in Brescia in 1471-8, and in Venice, Florence, Rome and Ferrara at the court of Ercole I d'Este between 1492-6. In addition to his chronicle he wrote a manual for confession, *Confessionale sive interrogatorium* (Confessional or interrogatory), published in Italian in 1492 and in Latin in 1496, and a historically orientated collection of the lives of religious women *De claris selectisque mulieribus Christianis* (Of famous and selected Christian women) on behalf of the d'Este during his stay in Ferrara 1493-4 (printed 1497, five editions). All his works were written with the print medium in mind.

The universal chronicle, which became his most widely disseminated work, is entitled *Supplementum Chronicarum* (Supplement to the chronicles) [Fig. 21]. Dedicated to the magistrate of Bergamo,

Anno mundi

tertius

50

Boysca Annoñ xpian.

Scena qua nostro sculo etiam visitato ri vocabulo Janna dicimus italie signi de vrbes celebz clarissimaz his teporibus: vt nonnullis placet: i signfici maris litore a quodaz Senno Saturni regis filio pdita: et cognominata fuisse dicunt. Alij autem: vt Paulus Perusinus historicus: a Senno no vno ex phocionis socijs conditam dicit. Refert et idē Paulus qd vuz phocion ex egypto in lygustino mare vucnisset: Sennum vnum ex socijs suis nauica maris debillitans: cuius parte nauis custodes in litore reliquit. Qui iunctus accolis loci siluestribus hominibus oppidū condidit: et genuaz ex suo nomine nuncupauit. Alij quoq; a Janno predicto italoz rege pditaz astruūt. Et inde post troianū excidium a quodam Janno troianozum principe ampliataz: vbi et ipsius iani bisfrōis idoluz primo coli ceptuz est. Cuius sigilli inscriptio sic haberi dicitur. Siphus vt has angit sic boz Janna frangit. Hec plane ciuitas totius lygustini sinus emporium est: que qmaxime a quadrigentis annis citra quā antea haud magnuz fuerit oppiduz maximū habuit incrementū. Unde et ingentes nacta vires et portu: edificuzq; superbissimis: ac reliquis in omni genere ornamentis nunc vsq; preter venetias ceteras italie imperio ponitur: et piratarū abstulerit latrocinia. Ipsa et; Romanis et grecis imperatoribus sepe amicitissima fuit. Et ppea quā ab hannibale peno penitus dissipata fuisset: statz Cornelius seruilus consul: vt Julius refert: per Lucetiu imperatoz ea instaurare mandauit. Post aduentū vero christi nomullas of reptiones et incendia a barbaris pertulit. Ipsa et; post apostolos statz sacrū christi euangelium suscepit eius deinde res nūc prosperē: nūc aduerse per multas manus postea diu acce sunt: sed permaxime nostro seculo propter eius (vt ita dixerim) discordia aduersaz pertulit fortuna. Nō post longobardos reges et La rōlū magnū: eiusq; filios plurimū cuiuz sustinuit tyrannides; propter quod et peregrinos dominos sibi superinducere aliquādo necesse habuit. Quē sic auxilio et consilio destituta eius imperiū longe lateq; diffusuz pene totuz exhaustus est. Peram et; vrbem constantinopoli opposita: mytilenem insulā: Samagustā vrbem totius cyprie insule columnen: Cibum insulaz: aliasq; greceas vrbes plurimas a turcis alijsq; gentibus ablatas deperdidit: vel tributarias fecit. Capta etiam eius colonia in thaurico ebronico non procul a bostoz cymetico superioribus annis amissa. Senna tamen: vt quibusdaz placet: a genu nomen accepit: eo qd in genu forma sita fuerit: a qua apemius mons incipit. Distatq; a sabatis stadiz ducentis sexaginta. In ea aliquādo sanguine scaturisse compertuz est. Ex hac celeberrima vrbē complurimi illustres p diere viri: et quibus Syrus ipius vrbis episcopus sanctissimus fuit. Innocentius octauus nunc superstes: Alij quoq; multi bellorum naualium imperatores: et pugiles audacissimi: qui potētissimos reges: aliasq; vrbuz potentiaz: vt infra locis suis dicemus captiuarunt. Multi etiam circa res ciuitles: circa philosophiam artesq; liberales clari emerere. Quaturq; qmaxime genua ciuitas cineribus precursoris domini: et Chastino quodaz smaragdino imprecabiit: quez tradunt illuz fuisse: in quo dñs noster iesus christus agnum pascale in cena domini cum apostolis suis comedit.



3694 C. Thelegonus bozia pastozis filius septimus rex ab inacho rege sexto egressionis anno scilicet israel ab egypto atheniensibus regnare cepit: et regnavit annis nouem. 1505
3701 C. Amphyrion tertius atheniensuz rex anno quinto decimo egressionis populi israel atheniensibus regnare cepit: et regnavit annis decem. An hic alci thebani filius fuerit: qui alcmenez Electryonis filiaz ex Lyfideice formosissimā habuit vxoz; a ioue amataz ignoratur. Ex ea enī genuit bereulem: qui nonnullū a marito matris amphyrionades a poetis dicitur: sicut helena a Tyndaro tyndaris: que similiter iouis filia dicitur. c 4

Fig. 21 Giacomo Filippo Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicarum*, edition by Bernardus Benalius. Venice, 1486. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc.c.a.1813, fol. 50^r.

it was first printed in 1483. While the first two editions did not contain any illustrations, the third edition of 1486, printed by Bernardus Benalius in Venice, and the subsequent printings were enriched with numerous woodcuts. The work is divided into 15 books (16 in the 1503 and later editions), running from the Creation of the world to the present date. The text is not a coherent narrative but an encyclopaedic accumulation of short passages on historical persons, as well as sites and cities, arranged in chronological order, and made accessible in a lengthy index; of particular interest are the descriptions of Italian cities which are always treated in the year of the alleged foundation; particular attention is paid to Venice as the *alter Italiae columne* surpassing all other cities in its virtues. Generally, the threat by the infidels is emphasised, as the work was written in the aftermath of the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (1453).

The structure is governed by the → Six Ages of the World (*sex aetates mundi*), but a particular interest in chronology is apparent in the way dates are represented: Foresti gives the *anni mundi* and the *anni Christi* in the margins, in a way comparable to Werner → Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*. The editions of the *Fasciculus* printed in Venice by Erhard Ratdolt in 1480, 1481, 1484, 1485, in contrast to earlier editions, contain a considerable number of woodcut illustrations (mostly representations of cities). Presumably, this was a decisive factor for the enrichment of the *Supplementum Chronicarum* with woodcuts in the editions after 1486 (two of which show authentic representations, namely Venice and Genoa). Their number and artistic quality exceed those in the *Fasciculus* and make the *Supplementum* a milestone in the illustration of printed universal chronicles. It was enormously successful, appearing in at least 25 editions (many of which were printed in Venice) in Latin, Italian and Spanish, and had a great impact on the text and illustration of later universal chronicles (e.g. the chronicle by Sigismund → Meisterlin, Hartmann → Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*, and the → *Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen*).

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ANDREA WORM

Founding Heroes

When the Scottish nobles gathered in Arbroath in 1320 to protest to the Pope about English aggression, their first and most salient argument was the antiquity of the Scottish people. Their famous petition, the *Declaration of Arbroath*, speaks of the origins of the nation in the Mediterranean, how they journeyed from Scythia across the sea to Spain, always renowned as heroes. The text opens with the words *Scimus, Sanctissime Pater et Domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris Colligimus...* (We know, Holy Father and Lord, and we learn from the *gesta* and books of the ancients). Here, the reference is presumably to *gesta* as a textual genre, and the best-known translation of the Declaration renders the word with "chronicles". The Arbroath assembly may have been thinking of the → *Chronicum Scotorum*, written in Ireland a few decades earlier, or some lost text in the same Hiberno-Scottish tradition. Tales of founding heroes recorded in chronicles were potentially a powerful source of national legitimation.

Origo gentes motifs are common in chronicles, and by no means only in national chronicles in the strict sense. In part this is motivated by a dynamic which is timeless, the desire to anchor group identity in a proud history as part of an ethnic self-construction, but its typical medieval form is conditioned by the dearth of information about the distant past in most parts of Europe combined with the cultural dominance of classical Greece and Rome, leading historians from all parts of the continent to seek to trace the earliest origins of their own ethnic group back to the world of Homer. Very frequently these narratives are combined with the story of an eponymous hero who gave his or occasionally her name to the nation. This phenomenon is modelled in the → Bible, where "Israel" is originally a name of the patriarch Jacob, but the specific pattern of

the medieval founding hero tale is most closely presaged by Virgil, who depicts Rome being founded by the aetiologically named Romulus, who was descended from Aeneas, a hero of the Trojan war. By the time national histories began to appear at end of the Middle Ages, writers from all over Europe were depicting the founders of their *nationes* as Trojan heroes.

The earliest medieval *origo gentes* narratives are found in Italy and Spain, where the Lombards and Goths had established their sovereignty over peoples of the former Roman Empire, and desired to fix in writing a foundation myth similar to those which they found in the Roman tradition. Important documents of early Germanic ethnogenesis are the sixth-century *Getica* of → Jordanes, which follows the origins of the Goths from Scandinavia linking them with the Thracian Getae, or the seventh-century → *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, which is associated with the first Lombard legal code, the *Edictum Rothari* and traces the Lombard royal line from the mythical Agelmundus. These narratives no doubt draw on older orally-transmitted material.

In the subsequent centuries, similar accounts found their way into chronicle texts all over Europe. One particularly strong tradition was that of the Brut narratives from England and Wales. The word 'British' was etymologized as the name for the descendants of the original progenitor, Brutus, a hero of Troy who like Aeneas migrated west and built a nation, displacing the older populations of the land. The fact that this actually provides an *origo gentis* for the Brethonic (i.e. Celtic Welsh) rather than for the English populations was rationalized in terms of the "passage of dominion" (see → *Translatio imperii*), and both the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman nobilities used the motif to celebrate the Trojan origins of their versions of England. See also → *Brenhinedd y Saesson and Brut y Tywysogyon*, → *Prose Brut, Latin*, → *Prose Brut, English*, → *Prose Brut, Anglo-Norman* etc.

Meanwhile in Gaelic Ireland and Scotland, a different set of legends appeared. Erinn (Ireland) was said to be named after hEriu, a woman who settled the land before Noah's flood, giving Ireland a history even older than the Table of Nations (Gen 10). Since the flood would have broken the continuity, a second settlement was required. The term Scoti (meaning Gaels) was traced to an Egyptian princess Scota, a daughter of the pharaoh drowned in the Red Sea who married a

hero of Scythian wars named Milidh. Meanwhile, Alba (originally meaning Britain, then Scotland) is explained in both English and Scottish origin legends either in terms of Albina, a daughter of the King of Syria, or of Albanact(us), younger son of Brutus. On these traditions, see → *Chronicum Scotorum*, → John of Fordun, → *Anonimale Chronicle*, → *Cronica regum Scotorum Trecenti Quatuordecim Annorum*, → *Chronicles of the Scots* and others. Since these are parallel to the Brut material and focussed on classical origins rather than pursuing indigenuous Irish origin myths, we must assume they are scholarly inventions, the attempt of Latin-speaking historians to do for the Hiberno-Scottish tradition what the English had achieved with Brut. That three of the four mythical progenitors are female is unusual.

One of the first German texts to contain origin legends is the → *Annolied*, which establishes Trojan origins for four Germanic peoples, the Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons and Franks. Ulrich → Fueterer connects the origins of Bavaria with the Armenian emigrant Bavarus. And the humanist Jakob → Mennel gave this a particular political poignancy when he used the same motifs to establish the Trojan origins of the Hapsburgs. In Denmark, the founding father Dan has a similar rôle in such chronicles as the → *Annales Ryenses* or the → *Danske Rimkronike*. And so on around Europe, and beyond: in the early Middle Ages → Movsēs Xorenac'i wrote of Hayk, the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians (*Hay*). The search for founding fathers is a constant in medieval national awareness, which chroniclers were not slow to buy into.

Similar stories are sometimes connected with the origins of cities, often in → town chronicles. In fourteenth-century Italy, → Giovanni da Nono began a history of Padua with legendary early kings of the city, Dardanus and Egidius. In England, John → Rous produced three genealogical charts which trace the patrons of Warwick back to the legendary founder of the city, a certain Gutelinus. And in Germany, Siegfried → Meisterlin and → Küchlin recorded the Trojan origins of the history of Ausburg. As with the national origins, these town origins are typically recorded in the opening passages of a chronicle.

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GRAEME DUNPHY

Fox, Richard

15th century. England. Author of a Middle English prose chronicle of England completed at St Albans in 1448. The text survives in a single, autograph manuscript: Woburn, Abbey Library, ms. 181. Fox was a literate layman who was employed by the abbey of St Albans; he is also the compiler of a manuscript with devotional texts (Cambridge, UL, Kk.1.6). The *Chronicle* recounts historical events from King Alfred in 872 to the siege of Rouen in 1419. Fox used a variety of sources, among them → Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* (and/or its Anglo-Norman source, the chronicle of → Pierre de Langtoft), the English → *Prose Brut*, sources so far untraced and eyewitness accounts. Fox's account of Alfred's reign is derived largely from Mannyng's *Chronicle* as found in London, Inner Temple Library, Petyt ms. 511, vol. 7 (or the Langtoft source-text, of which it is a close translation). However, details before and after this episode are found in neither Mannyng nor Langtoft. Elsewhere, as in the reign of Edward I, it is the English *Prose Brut* that Fox follows, often very closely, for example when describing the encounter of Robert Bruce and John Comyn. In his account of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, Fox specifically states that he was informed of the cause of the rising *by on þat was at þe same tyme beyng nygh by* (by someone who at the time was nearby). Personal knowledge of later events make the *Chronicle* valuable as a contemporary record. An edition of the text is long overdue.

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THEA SUMMERFIELD

Fragment de l'histoire de Philippe-Auguste roy de France [Fragment de Saint-Quentin]

ca 1219-26. France. Anonymous chronicle in French prose, probably written in northern France, possibly Artois. PETIT-DUTAILLIS suggests the probable author was Michel III de Harnes (1180?-1231), who features prominently and whose commission of a popular translation of the → *Pseudo-Turpin* testifies to his historical interests. The sole source, an Early Modern copy (Paris, BnF, collection Duchesne, no. 49, fols. 163-168) of a manuscript originally at Saint-Quentin, commences mid-sentence in an account of the battle of Bouvines (1214) at which Philip II Augustus decisively defeated Emperor Otto IV.

The text subsequently outlines the involvement of the future Louis VIII in the Albigensian crusade. Before the chronicle concludes in 1216, an account, not always accurate, is given of King John's dispute with his barons. PETIT-DUTAILLIS suggests the text began in 1213/14 and that little material has been lost. The author, whose sympathies lay with the Capetians, is unusual amongst northern French chroniclers for his interest in events in the western Empire. He also relates otherwise unknown material concerning the future Louis VIII's 1216 invasion of England. While there are parallels with the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* and the *Chronique des rois de France*, both of which are ascribed to the → Anonyme de Béthune, it is unlikely the *Fragment de l'histoire* was by the same author. The work may have proved a source for Philippe → Mousquet's rhyming chronicle.

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CHRIS JONES

Fragmentary Annals of Ireland [Three Fragments of Irish Annals]

11th century. Ireland. A collection of fragments in Irish with phrases in Latin, sometimes more literary than annalistic, from ancient Leinster and Ossory (a kingdom in the south-east of Ireland), covering the period AD 573-914, but with numerous lacunae (629-61, 705-15, 736-848 and 874-905).

The work survives only in a 17th-century copy of a transcript made in 1643 by Dubhaltach → Mac Fhirbhíshigh for the Galway historian Dr John Lynch. That copy, now Brussels, KBR, 5301-5320, is transcribed in an unknown hand which, it has recently been suggested, may be that of Fr Thomas O Sheerin, a Franciscan scholar based at St Anthony's College, Leuven. Neither Mac Fhirbhíshigh's exemplar, then, nor Lynch's own transcript is known to be extant.

The text was first edited by JOHN O DONOVAN under the title *Annals of Ireland: Three Fragments copied from ancient sources by Dubhaltach Mac Fírbíshigh* and published in 1861 by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society; as a result, the work has long been popularly known as *The Three Fragments*. It was shown by F.T. WAINWRIGHT, however, that "the work contained not three fragments but five" and thus JOAN RADNER's modern edition opted for the more non-committal title *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*. RADNER concluded that "the original text was compiled under the patronage of descendants of Cerball mac Dúnlain [king of Ossory, who d. 888]—and therefore in the interests of the ruling Osraige dynasty"—probably about the middle of the 11th century.

The *Fragmentary Annals* are a valuable source for the first century or so of the Viking period in Ireland (AD 849-73, 906-14), and can also shed light on such aspects of early English history as Ingimund's "invasion" of the Wirral in or around the year 907. The most celebrated part of the text is the saga-style account of the battle of Almha (or Allen) in Leinster which was fought in 722 and in which the most noted of many famous casualties was the high-king, Fergal mac Maíle Dúin. The tale has been edited separately under the title *Cath Almaine* (Battle of Almha).

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NOLLAIG Ó MURAÍLE

Francesc de Barcelona

15th century. Catalonia (Iberia). Author of a historical compilation in Catalan known as the *Libre de les nobleses dels reis* (Book of the nobilities of the kings). It relates the history of Catalonia from the legendary times (including the legend of Otger Cataló, foundational myth of Catalan earldoms) until the reign of Alfons IV the Benign of Aragon (Alfons III of Barcelona, 1328-36). It uses elements of the chronicles of Bernat → Desclot, Ramon → Muntaner, the → *Chronicon Moissiacense* and the → *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*. Only one manuscript is known: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 487.

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DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Francesco d'Angeluccio da Bazzano

1430?-post 1485. Italy. Merchant born in Bazzano, a castle near the town of L'Aquila, in which he lived. A consul of the *Arte della Lana* (wool guild), he took part in the political life of his town from the end of 1450s. He wrote the *Cronaca delle cose dell'Aquila dall'anno 1436 all'anno 1485*, a continuation of → Niccolò di Borbona's chronicle, in vernacular prose.

This *Cronaca*—maybe written from 1460—recounts the history of the town from 1442 to 1485, giving also some isolated information about 1436. The chronicle begins with L'Aquila besieged by Alfonso the Magnanimous (1442), and it ends with the rebellion against Antonio Cicinello, a lieutenant sent there by the King Ferrante to maintain law and order. The style of the chronicle is very simple and it belongs to the tradition of

the merchant-chroniclers of late medieval Italy. The author uses a number of typical expressions, such as *rechordo che* (I remember that...) or *facio menzione* (I mention...), and he noticed every extraordinary natural event, like earthquakes or heavy snow. The original manuscript, containing also the copies of the chronicles of → Buccio di Ranallo and Niccolò di Borbona, survived until the 18th century.

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PIERLUIGI TERENCE

Francesco di Andrea

15th century. Italy. Franciscan author of an annalistic chronicle about the city of Viterbo in Latin from 1080 until 1450. It begins with a legendary history of Viterbo and other Italian cities since Japhet, son of Noah. Apart from the year 1080, when we hear about the foundation of the church of Santa Maria Nova in Viterbo, we are only given specific information from the year 1169 onwards. From then on we have notes for almost every year. The most detailed information is for the years of the emperor Frederick II's siege of the city (1243–47). The chronicle also relates legends about Frederick's final years and his conflict with the Pope in Lyon. Some of these legends usually belong to his grandfather Frederick I (Barbarossa). A pseudo-etymology explains the word palaeology as deriving from Viterbo (palaeologus-vetus verbum-Viterbo).

The most important source is Lanzilotto of Viterbo, who wrote a chronicle of the city beginning with the year 1244. Another source is → Gottfried of Viterbo. For 1242 the chronicle also contains the Latin *Lamento di Ghottifredo e di Lanzilotto sopra Viterbo*. His report was very important also for other later chroniclers of Viterbo, for example Juzzo de Covelluzzo and → Nicola di Nicola di Bartolomeo della Tuccia.

Today the manuscript is in Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 194 (olim B.7.23).

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MIRIAM WEBER

Francis of Prague

ca 1300–after 1353/4. Bohemia. Author of a Latin *Chronica*, in prose with verse. Francis probably studied in Rome around 1321, became magister scholarum at the school at Vyšehrad, near Prague, before 1334. Later he was chaplain to the Prague bishop John IV of Dražice (1301–43) and confessor, and, in 1334, briefly also preacher in the St. Vitus church in the Prague castle. His works show he was still active in 1353/4, but the date 1362 for his death, given in much of the literature, cannot be confirmed.

In 1341–2, by commission of John of Dražice, he wrote the "second part of Bohemian history", that is, the chronicle from the rule of Václav I (1230–53) up to 1342. The *Chronica* was divided into three books and subdivided into chapters (31–24–7). The main sources were the → *Chronicon Aulae Regiae* and the → *Continuatio Cosmae II*. The author strongly reduced the text of his sources and added some supplements. After 1335 he continued independently. In this first version of his chronicle, Francis paid tribute to John IV. The 36-folio manuscript, with a dedication picture to John, is Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna pražské metropolitní kapituly G 5.

Around 1353–4 he adapted the chronicle for the Emperor Charles IV. He rewrote the preface and dedication, left out the passages about John IV, and enlarged and continued the third book to 1353. This second version (about 60 manuscript folios) survives in two medieval manuscripts: Jindřichův Hradec, Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň, RA Černín, rkp. č. 1, late 14th century, and Wrocław, BU, R 199; 1466–7. The Chronicle was used as a main source by → Beneš Krabice of Weitmil.

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MARIE BLÁHOVÁ

Franciscan chronicle tradition

1. The Franciscan Order;
2. Franciscan chronicles of the thirteenth century;
3. Franciscan chronicles of the fourteenth century;
4. Franciscan chronicles of the fifteenth century;
5. Franciscan chronicles by women

1. The Franciscan Order

The Franciscans are a mendicant order founded in Italy in the years after 1210 by Francis of Assisi (Giovanni Francesco di Bernardone; 1182–1226). They were known correctly as Friars Minor (OFM = *Ordo Fratrum Minorum*), or Minorites, or in England as Grey Friars, and because of their commitment to extreme poverty their popular name in German was *Barfüßer* (barefooters). The rule of St. Francis (1221/23) laid down the complete renunciation of property, both personal and communal, as a basis for spiritual life and preached repentance and self-denial. The order was immediately popular because of its simple spirituality and service to the poor, and spread rapidly, first in Italy and later throughout the continent. As early as 1217, groups were sent to Germany, France, Spain and Hungary.

From the beginning there was dissension within the Order about the interpretation of the word "poverty". While the more radical voices demanded extreme asceticism, the prevailing

majority, supported by the church authorities in Rome, made an almost casuistic distinction between possession and usufruct which allowed for a modest but comfortable lifestyle. This led to the appearance of Franciscan Spirituals, small groups of Italian Franciscans living in the mountain friaries and hermitages of northern Umbria, and associated with Petrus Johannis Olivi, Ubertino da Casale and Angela da Foligno, active from the 1270s; a late representative of these was → Angelo da Clareno (ca 1255–1337), whose two histories chronicle the persecutions of the stricter group within the Order in the earliest years. This issue remained a source of internal conflict throughout the subsequent centuries, coming to a head in the fifteenth century. In reaction to what was seen as a laxness in the observance of the rule, a reform movement spread across the continent, attempting once again to impose an absolute poverty. The adherents of reform, known as Observants, were particularly strong in Germany. In 1517 the two groups finally split, the Observants becoming the modern Franciscans, and the more liberal group, the Conventuals, taking the name Minorites. A further, even more ascetic offshoot of the Order were the Friars Minor Capuchin (Cappuccini, Kapuziner), founded in 1520. While they are a little too late to produce chronicles which could be described as medieval, their libraries are occasionally important for the transmission process (see for example Nikolaus → Glasberger or the → *Herkommen der Schwyzer und Oberhasler*).

The Franciscans, at least in the early years, had rather less of a reputation for literacy and erudition than, say, the Dominicans, who were founded around the same time, probably because their calling to service and work meant they were less focussed on intellectual pursuits. Nevertheless, there was a significant scholarly tradition, already beginning in the thirteenth century with the scholastic theologian and philosopher Bonaventure (1221–74), and an inventory of late-medieval Franciscan literature would be extensive. This encyclopedia includes entries on over 50 chronicles written by Franciscans, more than a quarter of these by Italians, and about a fifth originating in Germany. More than half of these were written in the fourteenth century, when the historical output of the Order was quite dramatically more intensive than in either the thirteenth or fifteenth.

2. Franciscan chronicles of the thirteenth century

One of the earliest Franciscan historians was → Thomas of Pavia (1212–80), a teacher of canon law who also wrote a *Gesta imperatorum et pontificum*. This was used a few years later by → Salimbene de Adam (1221–ca 1289), probably the best known of the thirteenth-century Franciscan chroniclers. A man of shifting allegiances but firmly on the liberal side of the Order, he was arguably not a good Minorite, but his *Chronica* is one of the central texts for an understanding of the history of Parma and the empire. However neither Thomas nor Salimbene wrote on the history of the Order itself. Probably the first history of the Franciscans (if we discount biographies of Francis himself, such as that of Thomas of Celano) was by an Englishman, → Thomas of Eccleston (fl. 1232–59), whose *Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* traces the origins of the English branch of the Order. In Ireland, the → *Annals of Multyfarnham* (after 1274) mark the beginning of Irish Franciscan writing.

Some of the earliest Franciscan chronicles were written in the context of the establishment of the Order in Germany. → Jordan of Giano, for example, who had been with Francis in Assisi before 1219, was in Salzburg by 1221 and is associated with the origins of Franciscan houses in many German towns, the history of which he then recorded in his *Chronica* (1262); the late thirteenth-century → *Chronica anonyma Ordinis Minorum provinciae Saxoniae* is an anonymous reworking of this. An important centre of Franciscan activity developed in Erfurt, and it is notable that this house has a rôle in the biographies of a very large proportion of the German Franciscan authors of the late Middle Ages. The → *Chronica minor Minoritae Erphordensis* was written around 1261, charting the earliest history of the Order in Thuringia. And around 1258, → Albert of Stade wrote a substantial world chronicle at a Franciscan house in Lower Saxony.

Francis himself had attempted unsuccessful journeys to Jerusalem and Morocco, and the biographies of many of the early Franciscans involve travels to the East. Among the first was → Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (ca 1180–1252), an Italian who spent time at the Mongol court and wrote a classic history of the Mongols. This pattern was repeated a generation later when the Flemish

Franciscan → William of Rubruck (ca 1215/20–1293) likewise visited the Mongol court and wrote a historical account of it, as did → Odorico da Pordenone (d. 1331). In the fourteenth century, another Italian Franciscan, → John of Marignolli (ca 1290–1358/59), travelled in Mongolia before he went on to compose a *Chronica Bohemorum* for the Emperor Charles IV, while the French Minorite Jean → Dardel became the first westerner to write a chronicle of Armenia, and the Perugian Iohannes → Eremosina (fl. 1328–35) may also have based his accounts of Asian history on his own travels.

3. Franciscan chronicles of the fourteenth century

In the fourteenth century the volume of Franciscan writings increased dramatically. Mostly, these writings were not focussed on the Order itself, but on the world around. In Italy, → Guido di Vallicchia (d. before 1315) produced a history of Pisa, → Iohannes de Utino (d. 1366) wrote one of the most important diagrammatic chronicles of the later Middle Ages, and → Benzo of Alessandria (d. ca 1330) and → Paulinus of Venice (d. 1344) both wrote universal history; however Benzo's affiliation with the order has recently been questioned. Also possibly a Franciscan was → Michele da Piazza.

In Germany, four important world chronicles were written: the → *Flores temporum* (ca 1300) was one of the most widely-read universal history of the period; → Detmar von Lübeck (before 1363–after 1394) had a North German angle; → Martin of Fulda (fl. 1380s or 1390s) covered imperial and papal history from the incarnation; and → Johannes von Winterthur (ca 1300–post 1348) intended to cover the whole of world history but never got beyond the segments for the years 1198–1348. Around the middle of the century, the Bavarian author of the → *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum Ratisponense* provided an interesting example of a Franciscan chronicle which railed against the Dominicans.

In England, → Richard of Durham (d. after 1302) wrote an important lost chronicle of the Anglo-Scottish wars, which is known through the → *Chronicon de Lanercost* (ca 1350), though it is uncertain whether the latter is Franciscan or Augustinian, and which was continued by the first Thomas → Otterbourne (fl. 1343–46), one

4. Franciscan chronicles of the fifteenth century

The volume of Franciscan historical writing in the fifteenth century appears to have been significantly smaller than in the fourteenth. In Italy, → Bartolomeo della Pugliola (ca 1358–1422/25), → Francesco di Andrea and Alessandro → De Ritiis (1434–97/98) wrote town chronicles of Bolgna, Viterbo and L'Aquila respectively. In Germany a Franciscan version of the → *Chronica Thuringorum* was made around 1407–10, and this was then expanded at the Eisenach friary to produce the → *Historia de landgraviis Thuringiae* (after 1414). Matthias → Döring (ca 1390–1469), Minister-Provincial of the province of Saxony, wrote a continuation of the world chronicle of Dietrich → Engelhus. The → *Cronica der graffen von Cilli* (post-1460) is a German-language comital chronicle written in what is now Slovenia. One major Hungarian work, the → *Cronica fratrum minorum de observantia provinciae Boznae et Hungariae*, was begun in the fifteenth century and continued for a period of well over 240 years by a series of named authors. The → *Annales Poloniae Minoris* (fifteenth century) are a group of four short histories of Poland by Franciscan authors. The → *Chronica Visbyensis* is an important Swedish account of Scandinavian history. The French account of the Castilian conquest of the Canary Islands, → *Le Canarien* (early fifteenth century), was traditionally seen as a Franciscan work, but this is now in doubt. And the Franciscan authorship of the → *Chronijk van Luyk* (early sixteenth century), a chronicle of the bishops of Liège, is also open to question.

As in the fourteenth century, there are fewer works dedicated to the history of the Order itself. Nikolaus → Glasberger (pre-1440–1508) wrote one of the most important works to deal with the internal affairs of the Order in detail, *Chronica Ordinis Minorum Observantium*. The → *Chronica conventus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum prope Isenacum* (1440s) traces the history of the friary in Eisenach. The → *Königsfeldener Chronik* (after 1400, continued to 1411) is a foundation history of the Franciscan house at Königsfelden, Switzerland. The *Memoriale ordinis Fratrum Minorum* of → Jan of Komorowo relates to the organisation and pastoral activities of the Polish province of the order. At the turn of the sixteenth century, two writers deal with the history of Franciscan

of the Oxford Minorites. At the end of the century, John → Somer wrote a chronicle apparently in the service of the English court. John → Clyn of Kilkenny and the author of the → *Chronicle of Kilkenny* were both Anglo-Irish Franciscans.

In the Low Countries, the → *Annales Gandenses* (ca 1308–10) recount the hostilities between France and Flanders, and → Jacobus de Guisia (ca 1340–99) wrote a history of Hainult. In Denmark, the → *Chronica Jutensis* (ca 1342–46) and → *Compendium Saxonis* appear to be national history written in a Franciscan friary. In Hungary, the → Anonymus Minorita (1350s or 60s) wrote a history of the reign of Louis I, while the so-called *Franciscan chronicle of Buda* is a fourteenth-century component of the *Hungarian National chronicle* or → *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. The → *Chronica Polonorum auctoris incerti dicti Dzierzwa* attests among its sources some lost Franciscan annals of Poland, and the → *Annales Thorunienses* (sometimes called the *Franciscani Thoruniensis Annales Prussici*) are an important witness to the conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Order. The Spanish Minorite Juan → Gil de Zamora (ca 1250–ca 1318) wrote a history of his home town. In part these “secular” histories are written by Franciscans who had links to secular authorities: Juan Gil de Zamora was Provincial Minister of Santiago, Jacobus de Guisia was confessor to the Count of Hainult; they are by no means all the products of closed communities. However they often do retain their Franciscan perspective. Typical of the Order's writing in the fourteenth century is a discontent with secular rulers, and a clear siding with the Church authorities in conflicts between Church and State.

However, a number of significant chronicles were also produced which focussed on the history of the Order itself. The → *Chronicon Provinciae Argentinensis* (1325) deals with the history of the Order's Strasbourg province. → Nicolaus Minorita (fl. 1330–60) wrote a history of the Franciscan poverty controversy. The Bohemian → *Chronicle of the so-called Beneš the Minorite* (1358–61) combines Czech history with the history of the Order. The → *Chronica XXIV generallium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (before 1369) is a history of the Order written in France.

observance in Bohemia: → Michael of Carinthia and Eberhard → Ablauff a Rheno. Finally, a late fifteenth-century Maronite (Syrian-Catholic) Franciscan who wrote a poem on the history of the order in Arabic was → Gabriel ibn al-Qilā'i.

In subsequent centuries, Franciscans were often of key importance in the transmission of medieval historical texts. If one had to choose just one high-profile example, it might be the Irish-language compilation → *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* or *Annals of the Four Masters*, important for their incorporation of otherwise lost earlier material. This work was compiled under the direction of a Franciscan lay-brother, Micheál Ó Cléirigh, and had the blessing of his community at Leuven. In popular understanding, the "Four Masters" are often considered to have been four Franciscans—one frequently sees statements to this effect in print—but in fact only Micheál, belonged to the order.

The Franciscans occasionally appear in the writings of other orders. Here we might mention → Antoninus of Florence (1389–1459), a Dominican whose historical *Summa* included a chapter on the Franciscans, or → John of Reading (d. 1368/69) and the author of the → *Worcester Annals* (ca 1308), both Benedictines who criticised the Franciscans sharply in their histories.

5. Franciscan chronicles by women

A Franciscan order of nuns, the Poor Clares (*Ordo sanctae Clarae*) was founded by Clare of Assisi under the tutelage of Francis himself in the years after she ran away to join him in 1212. Chronicles associated with convents of these "Minoreesses" include the → *Chronik des St. Clar-enklosters zu Weißenfels* (ca 1380–1400) and the → *Chronik des Nürnberger Klarissenklosters* (ca 1500), both vernacular German works which are presumed to have been written by women, though convents of the Poor Clares always had male confessors who sometimes wrote vernacular works for the education of the nuns. Probably the most famous historical work by a female in the Franciscan tradition is the rudimentary chronicle of Caritas → Pirkheimer. (See also → Women chroniclers and chronicles for women.)

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GRAEME DUNPHY

Frank, Johannes [Franck]

d. 1472. Germany. Benedictine monk in Augsburg. Frank entered the monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra in 1451, and was ordained a priest in 1458. He is best-known for two major achievements: he was a talented painter who illustrated a number of books found in his monastery, and, more importantly, he compiled an *Augsburger Chronik* (or *Augsburger Annalen*) in German vernacular. This work describes events in Augsburg during the period 1430–62, with an understandable emphasis on events involving the monastery. Today it is most valued for its descriptions of events involving the history of art in Augsburg and its discussion of the rise of the Italian preacher and inquisitor Giovanni da Capistrano, including the information that an entire wagonload of card games was destroyed at his request. The chronicle is preserved in a manuscript written between 1467 and 1506, now Augsburg, Archiv des Bistums, Hs. 79.

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MARC PIERCE

Frauenburg, Johannes

ca 1430–95. Germany. Probably born in Danzig (Gdańsk), he studied 1451/7 in Leipzig, was assigned in 1462 as *magister scholae* in Görlitz, was *notarius* in the town chancellery from 1463, became town clerk (*Stadtschreiber*) in 1465, 1469 *consul*, 1473 *scabinus* and 1474 and 1478 *magister civium* (mayor) in the town council. He retired in 1482 and died in Görlitz on 5th February 1495.

Frauenburg was the author of various manuscripts. His *Tagebuch*, the original of which is lost, is more a chronicle than a *Secretarium*, as Frauenburg himself called it. It was written in German (partly in Latin) between 1470 and 1480, but it goes back to the 1430s, because he frequently expanded his notes with historical excursus based on memories of older citizens or documents of the town chancellery. The main topics are public affairs (duties of office, privileges like the right to woad or the right to brew beer, court matters, taxes, fortifications, peacekeeping) and conflicts among citizens or between the city council and craftsmen, especially the clothiers (*Tuchmacher*), all in chronological order.

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CHRISTIAN SPEER

Frechulf of Lisieux

[Freculphus episcopus Lexoviensis]

fl. 820–50. France. Possibly of southern German origin, Frechulf was bishop of Lisieux after 822. He was sent to Rome in 824 to draw the pope's attention to the cult of images. In 835 he was put in charge of Ebbon who had been deposed from his position as archbishop of Reims by the Council of Thionville. He was dead by 853. From ca 825 he compiled his *Chronicorum tomii duo*, a vast universal chronicle whose material was culled from the Palace library. The seven books of the first volume, dedicated to the chancellor Héliaschar, go from the Creation to the birth of Christ. The five books of the second volume, dedicated to Judith, second wife of the emperor Louis the Pious, takes the chronicle up to 607. Frechulf expresses the hope she will use it to educate her son. The sources are numerous; for Roman history Ps. Aurelius → Victor, → Paul the Deacon and → Jordanes, for ecclesiastical history the translations of → Josephus, → Epiphanius scholasticus' *Historia tripartita*, → Rufinus' translation of → Eusebius and others. Behind these interests in secular and church history lie the guiding intellectual ideas of → Augustine and → Orosius. More than 30 manuscripts survive, including St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 622.

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Literature: *RepFont* 4, 552f.

RÉGIS RECH

Fredegar

[Pseudo-Fredegarium Scholasticus]

ca 660. France? Supposed author of the so-called *Fredegar-Chronicle*. The name was attributed by Claude Fauchet in 1579 for unknown reasons, and is found on the margin of one of the manuscripts, possibly added in 17th century.

This Latin chronicle is a compilation of prose in four books, probably from ca 660; its genre combines World Chronicle and *gens Francorum* history. Books I–II contain mainly excerpts from works of Hippolytus (*Liber Generationis*), → Isidore, → Jerome, → Hydatius and Jonas of Bobbio (*Vita Columbani*). Book III is mainly a summary of the first six books of the *Historia Francorum* of

→ Gregory of Tours to 584. Book IV continues the description of events and gives new information about Spain, Italy, Slavs and Byzantium. The original material is particularly important as it is almost the only contemporary source for some of the events. The narrative comes to an end in 642, and the work is unfinished. The key motif of the chronicle is celebration of the Franks. The presence of various political and geographical perspectives led to the assumption that there were two or three authors, but nowadays the view that there was a single author connected with Burgundy and Neustria prevails.

The chronicle was continued to 751 using the *Gesta regum Francorum* (a version of the → *Liber historiae Francorum*), commissioned by Childerand (brother of Charles Martel) and his son Nibelung, and completed ca 768.

There are 38 known manuscripts of the chronicle, mostly fragments; the copy closest to the original, Paris, BnF, lat. 10910, dates from 714/5 and is the basis of the modern edition. The *editio princeps* by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Basel, 1568) was based on Heidelberg, UB, cpl 864.

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STANISLAW ROSIK

Frederiks, Willem

ca 1455–1527? Low Countries. Author of a Latin history of Frisia. Frederiks studied *artes* and medicine in Cologne and Ferrara, before returning to a long religious and political career in his home town of Groningen. The *De Frisiorum situ... origine, moribus, rebus gestis et viris illustribus* (1498–99) remained unfinished, probably due to the political upheavals of his time. It contains an account of the geographical position of Frisia

(proving, amongst other things, that Groningen was part of Frisia) and of the origins of the Frisian people. It was one of the earliest historical works from Frisia to show the influence of humanism. The suggestion that Frederiks wrote mainly to support the power politics of Groningen has been questioned in view of his interest in producing a comprehensive history of Frisia. The chronicle is transmitted in a single copy made around 1700; Groningen, Gemeente Archief, R.F. 1558 no 12.

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JUSTINE SMITHUIS

Frensweger Chronik

[Chronicon monasterii Frenswegen]

completed 1495. Germany. Latin monastic chronicle. This prose chronicle, which survives in a single 15th-century manuscript (Münster, SA, Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens 103) and some later copies, has been attributed to Johannes von Horstmar, but there is no evidence of his authorship within the text itself. The chronicle is in fact a kind of a commemorative work written on the occasion of the centenary of the monastery St. Marienwolde in Frenswegen in 1494, and its focus is clearly on personalities rather than on events. The first part covers the establishment of the monastery by Augustinian canons on land provided by Count Bernhard I von Bentheim and offers portraits of the priors until 1484, particularly virtuous canons and the monastery's benefactors. It closes with a list of all canons clothed between 1394 and 1494. The shorter second and third parts deal with exempla of faltering canons and lay brothers and the punishment of external enemies, respectively. The chronicle makes use of various sources such as the notes of a canon Matthias for the years 1394–1424 as well as Johannes → Busch's *Windesheimer Chronik*, which is quoted repeatedly. The account

of Bernhard von Bentheim's pietas and his death is very close to the 15th-century Low German → *Chronik der Grafen von Bentheim*.

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KERSTIN PFEIFFER

Frescobaldi, Leonardo

1324–post 1413. Italy. A member of the Florentine ruling class. His most important experience was the journey he made to Egypt and the Palestine in 1384–5 which he recorded in a detailed, vivid and generally reliable vernacular account, later called *Viaggio in Egitto e in Terrasanta* (Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land). The *Viaggio* is at once a pilgrimage account and a secular narrative about travelling in exotic and remote countries. Great attention is paid to what captures Frescobaldi's secular and mercantile interest: the towns and their markets (Alexandria is said to be a *mercantesca terra e massimamente di spezieria, zucchero e drappi di seta*, a land of merchants, especially of spices, sugar and silk fabrics), the Muslims' habits and their food, clothes and handicraft. The narrative is also characterized by a crusade and a chivalric atmosphere so that a Bedouin assault in the desert becomes, for the vain Frescobaldi, an occasion to show his prowess and heroism. The work was written in three successive versions—the first, anonymous and brief, followed by two others, signed and longer, enriched with details from → Niccolò da Pogibonsi and Giorgio → Gucci—probably because of the competition with the accounts concerning the same pilgrimage written by Frescobaldi's travelling companions Gucci and Simone → Sigoli. Frescobaldi's work is preserved in a number of manuscripts. Most of them are to be found in major Italian libraries, particularly in Florence. The one exception is in London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 1994 (15th century).

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ANGELA TOMEI

Frey, Kaspar

1460/70–1526/7. Switzerland. Administrative official in the Swiss confederacy. Author of two German prose chronicles of the Swabian War of 1499 and the wars in Upper Italy between 1499 and 1509.

Offspring of a patrician family in Baden im Aargau, Frey studied in Basel and Paris (1481–4), then started a career in his home town, as judge (1487), town clerk (1494–8) and mayor (1498/9). During the Swabian War he was also High Commander of the town troops in Baden and on the northern Rhine border. In June 1499 he left Baden to work for the abbey of St. Gallen as a diplomat during the peace negotiations. From October 1499 to 1515 Frey served in various positions in the abbey's administration, as *Lehensvogt* till 1504, then *Reichsvogt* in Rorschach till 1515. Afterwards he became town clerk of Zürich, officiating until shortly before his death.

Frey's main work is a chronicle about the Swabian War of 1499, fought between Maximilian I of Habsburg and the Swiss confederacy, written shortly after the war and completed by April 1500. The text is entirely original and offers primarily a military and diplomatic history of the war, giving a full and reliable account of its course of events from January to the peace treaty of Basel on 22th September 1499. As a participant of the war in a leading political, military and diplomatic position, Frey was eyewitness to several stages of the war. His detailed depictions of everyday life at war on the northern Rhine border are outstanding, as are his keen observations of the peace negotiations in Schaffhausen and Basel.

As additional sources, Frey used informants, often eyewitnesses, and a plethora of written documents, mainly from the Zürich town archive. The text shows humanistic influences in its author's methodical and theoretical approach. Its main intention is a moral lesson directed against war itself. In spite of being a Swiss chronicle it is primarily addressed to the former opponents, whom Frey identifies as the culprits responsible

for the outbreak of the war, due to their continuous slanders against the honour of the Swiss. The text takes an astonishingly critical view of the role of the French king, the main ally of the Swiss side, and the duke of Milan, while making neutral to positive statements in regard of Maximilian I.

In the Swiss historiography of the Swabian War this chronicle takes a key position. It was used and processed, sometimes to the extent of retaining its original wording, by Niklaus → Schradin, the unknown author of the → *Zürcher Schwabenkriegschronik*, and later the Zürich historian Heinrich Brennwald and the Bernese town chronicler Valerius Anshelm. Thus it wielded an enormous influence on the received picture of the Swabian War, which lasted until modern days. The chronicle survives in a single late copy, Frauenfeld, Thurgauische Kantonsbibliothek, Y 149 (item no. 1), as part of a composite manuscript commissioned by the Zürich savant Samuel Pellican and written ca 1560/4.

As a continuation Frey wrote, presumably in snatches from 1500/3 to 1510/11, a history of events in the Swiss confederacy and Swiss participation in the wars in Upper Italy between 1499 and 1509. It is formulated in the same style and based on similar sources. An outstanding episode is the depiction of the French campaign against the Italian city of Genoa in 1507, in which Frey had taken part as captain of the St. Gall troops. The text survives in the same collective manuscript as Frey's Swabian War chronicle, as item nos. 6 and 8.

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ANDRE GUTMANN

Fribois, Noël de

fl. 1423–1467/68. France. Author of chronicles of France in Latin and French. A Norman by origin, Fribois served the French king Charles VII from 1423–1444 as notary and secretary, and was a royal counsellor from 1452. He died at Argentan in 1467 or 1468. His most important work is the *Abregé des croniques*; he is possibly the author of the → *Miroir historial abregié de France* of some 200 folios, in Latin with a French translation and commentary. He also translated part of the Latin

chronicle of Michel → Pinto into French at an unknown date.

The *Abregé des croniques* (A Summary of the Chronicles), formally presented to Charles VII in June 1459, survives in six versions, in 23 manuscripts of the 15th and early 16th century. The beginning and end of the text are missing in the earliest version, which contains short notes indicating where the author intended to add chapters (Paris, BnF, fr. 13569). The revised version, some 65 folios long (represented by BnF, fr. 5026) traced the history of the French kingdom from the legendary arrival of the Trojans to 1384 (new style). Fribois drew primarily on → Vincent of Beauvais, → Martin of Opava and the → *Grandes Chroniques de France* to construct the chronological framework in these two versions.

A new section of about 20 folios in the third version (BnF, fr. 10141), comments on the meaning of the words king and emperor. Fribois added a short treatise (2 folios), justifying Charles VII's right to the French throne, to create a fourth version (Vatican, BAV, regin. lat. 829), the most faithful to the text presented to the king in 1459. Fifth and sixth versions of the *Abregé* were made after Fribois's death (BnF, fr. 4943 and Paris, Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 490 respectively). These mainly follow the first and second redactions, but add fuller accounts of certain reigns (Philip III, Philip IV), and continue to the reign of Charles VII.

Illustrated copies include BnF, fr. 10141, which shows Fribois presenting his text to Charles VII or Louis XI; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3034, which depicts the legend of the fleurs de lis, and Paris, BnF, fr. 4943 and its copy, Geneva, BUP, ms. fr. 83, each with 27 illustrations. Nicole → Gilles and Jacques → Le Picart used Fribois as a source for their own works.

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Literature: *RepFont* 4, 557f.

KATHLEEN DALY

Fricker, Thüring

ca 1429–1519. Switzerland. Born in Brugg (Aargau, Austria), Fricker studied canon law in Heidelberg, Freiburg (Breisgau), Pavia and probably also in Basel, graduating as doctor in Pavia in 1473. From 1467 he assisted his father, who then

was town clerk in Berne). In 1470 he followed in his father's office. He reorganized the municipal chambers (he was the originator of the *Ratsmanuale*) and appears several times as a town's legate at confederate *Tagsatzungen* as well as in Rome. In 1514 he resigned from office and returned to die in his home town of Brugg. Fricker has left a dramatic eyewitness depiction of the *Twingherrenstreit*, the civil disturbances which occurred in Berne in 1469/70 when a group of craftsmen and tradesmen tried to take over leading positions in town. This report provides a valuable insight, as Fricker not only knew the parties personally but also participated in the negotiations. He uses direct speech extensively, but probably is not citing the speeches verbatim. Rather, it has been suggested that Sallust's *De conjuratione Catilinae* might have served him as a literary example, or more recently (SCHMID) that they are modelled on the contemporary courtroom practice, the classical references being drawn from a collection of exempla in the style of Valerius Maximus. A copy from 1611 (Berne, Burgerbibliothek, ms. h. I.40) is considered the best extant manuscript.

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Fries, Hans, of Fribourg

ca 1460–1518. Switzerland. Civic leader in Fribourg, where he held a number of positions, ultimately serving on the city council from 1498 until 1505, and then again from 1507 until his death. A German-language chronicle about the Burgundian wars (*Chronik des Burgunderkrieges*) is attributed to Fries by the copyist of a manuscript dating to 1556, Peter Fruyo. The chronicle covers the period 1339–1499; Fries apparently extracted much of the somewhat fragmentary

data for the early years from the works of Nicod du → Chastel, Hans → Greierz and others. However, material dealing with events that took place in Fries' own lifetime is fuller, and apparently stems from his own experiences, as well as possibly from certain oral traditions dealing with the city archives. This work does not seem to have been very influential. Two copies survive: Fribourg, Bischöfliches Archiv, ms. 9, rayon 2 and Fribourg, Kantons- und Universitätsbibliothek, ms. L. 1152, pp. 282–313. In his 1901 edition of the text, BÜCHI reported that two additional copies were in private hands, but these copies have apparently since vanished.

Fries is not to be confused with the painter of the same name, Hans Fries of Berne (ca 1460–1520); the two were in fact cousins.

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MARC PIERCE

Froben, Johannes

ca 1470–1510. Poland. Froben studied in Kraków 1490–95, was *notarius civitatis* in Namysłów (Namslau, Lower Silesia) 1495–1503, held the same office in Wrocław 1504–06, and finally is attested back in Namysłów, again as public notary, in 1509–10. He was the author of a town chronicle of Namysłów called the *Annales Namslavienses*. Not to be confused with another Johannes Froben, a printer in Basel.

The prose chronicle was written in German. It describes the history of Namysłów and its environs from 1347 to 1509. It also contains information about events elsewhere. It describes both political affairs and everyday life. The author represents the interests of the townspeople of Namysłów, assessing the Czech rulers critically, especially George of Poděbrady. The chronicle refers to official documents (many cited *in extenso*) and to author's own observations. It also uses the *Supplementum chronicorum orbis* by Giacomo Filippo → Foresti (de Bergamo) and the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of Hartmann → Schedel. The information contained in the chronicle is considered to be of high value as source material. It was the basis for the *Namslauer Chronik*, written in the years

1782–84 by an unknown author. So far only short excerpts have been published. The autograph manuscript has survived, now Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe, Rep. 135 E 99a; partial copies are kept with Wrocław, BU, R 617 & R 2697.

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ROLAND CZARNECKI

Froissart, Jean

ca 1337–ca 1404. Northern France. Born in Valenciennes, Hainault. The most important French chronicler of the later Middle Ages, he wrote a vast prose chronicle in French organised in four Books, to record 'impartially' the deeds of arms executed by English and French knights during the earlier phases of the Hundred Years' War. He also wrote chivalric poetry.

Froissart was fascinated by the origins and conduct of the wars between the rulers of England and France and their allies. His first work was a lost chronicle, almost certainly in verse, presented ca 1362 to his compatriot and patroness Philippa, queen of Edward III, and covering the earliest years of the conflict. Encountering the prose Chronicle of → Jean le Bel (completed 1361), Froissart appears to have heeded the latter's warnings about writing history in verse, and produced a first extended prose account of what eventually becomes 'Book I' dealing with events from 1325 to the 1370s, by which time he is gravitating towards the court of Wenceslas of Brabant. This first version of Book I, the 'A' redaction (dedicated to Robert de Namur) survives in many manuscripts, including Besançon, BM, ms.

864; New York, Pierpont Morgan, ms. M.804; and Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College, ms. 1.

Another version of the (prose) Book I text—composed perhaps 'alongside' and at times almost coterminously with parts of the 'A' redaction—is provided by the five or 'six' 'B' redaction manuscripts. In the latest surviving witnesses to Book I we read of events taking place in 1378, but in both 'A' and 'B' versions there are still fairly large tracts of near-verbatim material from Le Bel's Chronicle for the period 1325–56, presumably to guarantee a more authoritative account. The 'B' redaction was adopted for the French national edition of Book I (1869–88), using Paris, BnF, mss. fr. 6477–79. In the Prologue, Froissart underscores his intention to record and celebrate without bias the military achievements of knights and squires on either side of the conflict. If the account seems often to favour the English, this is because of English military successes such as Sluys (1340), Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), and the ready availability of English interviewees (though Froissart also interviewed French knights imprisoned in London), an important factor in the would-be historian's approach.

A significantly different version of Book I survives in just one complete early 15th-century codex, Amiens, BM, ms. 486, and a fragment housed at Valenciennes, BM, ms. 638. The final phase of the composition of the Amiens text overlaps to some extent with the earliest witnesses for what we know today as Book II of Froissart's Chronicles (1379–84). The Amiens manuscript text seems to have been composed between 1376 and 1379, possibly in 1378; its final chapter (identical to the final chapter of the 'B' redaction) overlaps with the first chapters of some—mostly later—manuscripts of Book II. Numerous episodes in 'Amiens' are similar or even identical to those found in the other redactions of Book I, whilst some are unique to this version. CROENEN has argued that Froissart may have enjoyed the support of Enguerrand de Coucy during the composition of the Amiens manuscript version, whilst Guy de Châtillon, count of Blois may have been his patron during the preparation of the 'B' redaction of Book I and of the whole of Books II, III and IV.

Book II concentrates on matters closer to the chronicler's own homeland: the Schism, the struggle between the Count of Flanders and the weaver oligarchs of Ghent, and the Peasants' Revolt in England. The leitmotiv throughout is

the threat posed to the divinely-sanctioned social order by unruly—but poorly governed—subjects. A shorter version of Book II, found for example in BnF, ms. fr. 5004, is known as the *Chronique de Flandre*.

Froissart's career as chronicler is marked throughout by his foreign travel in pursuit of dependable eyewitness testimony. After the foundational journey across the Channel to join Philippa's court (and perhaps her household establishment), Froissart found the means, in 1365, to support the ride westwards to Chepstow and Berkeley, then northwards to Scotland where he may have reached Aberdeen. Members of the English and Scots aristocracy were thus interviewed; French captives awaiting release upon payment of ransom after Poitiers and Brétigny were similarly quizzed in London. Westminster, Windsor, Berkhamsted and Pleshey all seem to have been familiar haunts of the chronicler, who built up a considerable 'client base' of informants. A visit to Brussels in 1366 was followed in 1368 by a trip to Milan for the marriage of Lionel of Clarence to Violanta Visconti. Queen Philippa died in 1369, possibly the catalyst for Froissart's return to Valenciennes. He was soon enjoying the living of Estinnes-au-Mont, probably thanks to the support of Wenceslas of Brabant: the chronicler's poetic dialogue with a literary 'avatar' of duke Wenceslas in the *Prison amoureuse* dates from 1372. Froissart composed other narrative poems at this time, also adding fresh material to his first Book which as we have seen closes at 1379 in the most complete witnesses.

By the later 1380s, and upon completion of Book II, the chronicler was ready to turn his thoughts once more to events in the Iberian peninsula. In 1388, Gui de Châtillon gave his blessing to Froissart's journey south-west to Béarn, where he was confident of meeting combatants from both sides of the Anglo-French conflict at the court of the resourcefully independent Gaston 'Fébus' of Foix-Béarn. Book III (composed 1388–91) survives in around 25 manuscripts in several slightly different versions. A turning point in Froissart's career as chronicler and writer, it is much more self-referential than Books I–II. A Book III sequence known as the *Voyage en Béarn* places the writer squarely within his own narrative as protagonist; he describes himself journeying westwards in the company of one of Gaston's most trusted knights, Espan de Lion. Along the way, Espan answers the chronicler's questions

(though not the more embarrassing ones concerning the mysterious demise of Gaston's only legitimate heir), regaling his interlocutor with a series of colourful narratives of events associated with this independent province, and with the personality and governance of its ruler. The wars between Portugal and Castile are related in considerable detail later in Book III. What dominates early on is the chronicler's voice and those of his immediate contacts including Espan and the garrulous Bascot de Mauléon. A new edition of Book III based on Besançon, BM, ms. 865 has begun to explore the complex manuscript tradition underpinning this text. The hitherto prevailing hypothesis of two distinct redactions (the second represented by Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2650 and published in full by the Société de l'Histoire de France) stands in need of revision: research for the new edition suggests that there were several slightly differing versions of Book III, of which Besançon ms. 865 represents one of the earliest complete witnesses.

There is much to enjoy in Book III. The inclusion of tales of hauntings, hidden passages in disputed border castles, and tragic homicides guarantees an enthralling read, even as it encourages us to take a critical step back from a text which blends together a skein of highly coloured narrative strands comprising travelogue, diary, interviews and personal eyewitness testimonies, and even transposed fragments from Froissart's own Arthurian romance of *Meliador* (Knight of the Golden Sun). If a single theme emerges clearly from Book III, it is his awareness of the growing tension between hereditary kingship and presumed, 'caste-imparted' chivalry on the one hand, and the legitimacy and prowess actually acquired on the battlefield, on the other. Book III also contains several key statements about Froissart's working methods (eyewitness interviews, writing up of notes, fashioning of narratives, etc.).

By the mid 1390s Froissart was back in the Low Countries, where he had secured a canonry at Chimay. Two more journeys deserve our attention: Froissart's final visit to England in 1395, recounted in the course of Book IV (covering 1392–1400), chronicling in lively style the final years of the reign of Richard II and the roles played by Gloucester, Gaunt and Bolingbroke. The second involves the writer's return to his own authorial beginnings, insofar as Book IV is virtually contemporaneous with the chronicler's last reworking of the Book I text. The final prose

redaction of Book I survives in just one witness: Vatican, BAV, regin. lat. 869. Written on paper, it preserves the author's final revision of the opening section of Book I (that most dependent on Le Bel's *Chronique*). Looking back to the origins of the conflict between England and France, it reviews the flawed reign of Edward II and the advent of the future victor of Crécy and Poitiers, Edward III, as a sublime (if largely implicit) parallel to the story of Bolingbroke's wresting of the crown from Edward II's great-grandson, Richard II. A new edition of Book IV, based on London, BL, Harley 4379–80, is in preparation; a partial edition based on Brussels, KBR, ms. IV 467 appeared in 2004.

Froissart may not always have achieved his goals of impartial, comprehensive and accurate reporting of the conflict, but the *Chronicles* are a masterpiece of later medieval French prose, testimony to the writer's declared intent to bequeath to future generations of readers a well-researched narrative of the Hundred Years' War. An Online Froissart under development at the Universities of Sheffield and Liverpool will offer 21st-century readers the text of Besançon 864–865 (Books I–III) along with high-resolution images of the original folios, translation into modern English, concordance, bibliography, glossary and comprehensive index of places and persons.

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PETER AINSWORTH

Froissart illustration cycles

1. Froissart illustrations; 2. The manuscript tradition; 3. Production centres: Paris and the Low Countries; 4. Froissart and the illustration of Book I; 5. Books II–IV

1. Froissart illustrations

The miniatures of the manuscripts of Jean → Froissart's *Chroniques* are often used to illustrate accounts of medieval history, in particular of the Hundred Years War and of late medieval chivalrous and courtly culture. Often reproduced are manuscripts owned by Anthony of Burgundy (the Breslau manuscript, Berlin, SB, Rehdiger 1–4 [Fig. 22]) and Louis de Bruges (Paris, BnF, fr. 2643–2646). More recently some earlier Parisian manuscripts have become popular as illustrative material (New York, Morgan Library, M.804; Besançon, BM, 864–865; Brussels, KBR, II 88, II 2552 and IV 251). Recent studies focussed on the miniatures have however discovered a visual discourse which is not just mere illustration, but can be read as a complement to Froissart's text.

2. The manuscript tradition

Of the nearly 160 surviving manuscript volumes containing Froissart's *Chroniques*, no less than sixty-four contain illustrations, representing in total more than 1200 miniatures. The miniatures of a further twenty volumes have either been removed or were never completed. About half of the surviving volumes were therefore conceived as illustrated copies. Some of these manuscripts only include a single miniature on the opening page, but many contain proper programmes of illustration, with between 10 and 30 miniature paintings. Some exceptional copies contain even more, like the first volume of the Breslau manuscript, which contains 117 miniatures, or the manuscript of an abridgment of the complete *Chroniques* executed for the Cardinal d'Amboise, which contains 198. The latter was executed as late as the start of the sixteenth century, but the earliest illustrated cop-

ies date to the first decade of the fifteenth century (The Hague, KB, 72 A 25; Paris, BnF, fr. 2641). In most multi-volume copies, illustrations are not distributed equally but tend to become less numerous towards the end of the set.

The corpus of miniatures presents an interesting counterpart to the text of the *Chroniques*, spanning the same geographical, chronological and thematic range as Froissart's prose, and articulating or expanding variously the themes of war, chivalry, pageantry, government and even the fantastical. Scholars studying the illustrations are confronted with a number of questions, only some of which have so far received answers (often still partial or provisional). These relate to the origin of the illustrative programmes, their transmission and their interpretation. The difficulties in answering these questions are caused by insufficient knowledge of the manuscript tradition. There are not yet full codicological descriptions of all manuscripts, with complete catalogues of surviving miniatures and lists of miniatures removed or left incomplete. Neither do scholars have a complete understanding of the textual transmission of the *Chroniques* and the precise relationships between the surviving manuscripts (except for Book III and part of the Book IV tradition), which also makes it difficult to assess correctly the processes and directions of transmission of the illustration.

3. Production centres: Paris and the Low Countries

It would be wrong to talk about a proper cycle of illustration in connection with Froissart's *Chroniques* in general in the way art historians usually understand this term, i.e. as a relatively stable set of pictures with a fixed iconography that always appear at the same junctions in the text. Only sometimes is it possible to identify groups of manuscripts whose illustrative programmes overlap to a significant extent. Nearly always there are close textual or codicological relationships between these manuscripts, which indicates that both text and illustrations were copied from the same exemplar. This is the case with a group of manuscripts of Book I copied by the same scribe in Paris in the first quarter of the fifteenth century (New York, Morgan Library, M.804; Toulouse, BM, 511; Glasgow, UL, Hunter 42; also related is Paris, BnF, fr. 2662). Another example is the



Fig. 22 Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*. Froissart interviews Espan de Lion while travelling to the court at Béarn. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ms. Reh diger 3 (Depot Breslau, 1, Bd. 3), fol. 19^v.

mid-fifteenth-century Middle Dutch translation of Book III (The Hague, KB, 130 B 21; Leiden, UB, BPL 3), which was in all probability based on Besançon, ms. 865, whose illustrations it closely echoes.

The earliest surviving group of illustrated copies of the *Chroniques* were produced in Paris in the first two decades of the fifteenth century, and include mostly manuscripts of Book I (twenty copies), some of Book II (ten) and a few of Book III (five). The majority of these were illuminated by the Giac Master (formerly known as the Rohan Workshop) and the Boethius Master (formerly identified as an associate of the Master of the Apocalypse of the Duke of Berry). An old hypothesis by J. PORCHER and M. MEISS that the iconographic and stylistic similarities between the surviving copies were the result of a collaboration between two workshops led by the Rohan Master and the Master of the Apocalypse of the Duke of Berry has recently been seriously qualified by G. CROENEN and M. and R. ROUSE, who have demonstrated that it was instead the commercial book producer Pierre de Liffol who was responsible for at least part of this output. Many of the later illustrated copies contain all four books of the *Chroniques*. At least seven such copies were executed in the Burgundian Low Countries towards the end of the reign of Duke Philip the Good (1419–67) or during the reign of Charles the Bold (1467–77) for the ducal family and their court circle. The illustrations have been attributed to artists such as Loyset Liédet and his associates, Lieven Van Lathem and the Master of the Harley Froissart (recently identified as Philippe de Mazerolles), and often use grisaille or semi-grisaille techniques and *clair-obscur* effects (Paris, Arsenal, 5187–5190; Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ludwig XIII 7).

4. Froissart and the illustration of Book I

The reproduction of programmes of illustration nearly always involved adaptation, in particular changes to the iconography of individual paintings and the selection of passages to be illustrated (scenes added or deleted). Most scholars agree that the choice of illustration for individual manuscripts was the result of a dynamic interaction between artists and patrons, taking into

account also financial and commercial considerations (number of miniatures). As far as Book I is concerned, however, A. VARVARO has advanced the hypothesis that Froissart himself was involved with its illustration. He suggests that it is possible to identify a common programme of illustration which includes a particular four-part frontispiece and twenty further miniatures found in a substantial number of manuscripts. VARVARO links what he interprets as a coherent programme to a now lost presentation copy which Froissart had prepared for King Richard II of England and which the Duke of Anjou confiscated in 1381. He has argued that the unusual frontispiece, which shows Froissart offering the book to King Richard, could not have been based on the text of the *Chroniques*, and must therefore be explained by a pictorial archetype devised by the author.

VARVARO's argument concerning the presentation scene is convincing, but does not necessarily apply to the rest of the illustration (the other three scenes of the frontispiece and the twenty additional miniatures). Moreover, manuscripts which can certainly or tentatively be linked directly to Froissart (manuscripts of his poetry and of his Arthurian romance, Paris, BnF, fr. 831 and 12557) only contain single opening miniatures. It is therefore perfectly possible to explain the reoccurrence of the other twenty illustrations at particular passages identified by VARVARO, in particular the great battles of the Hundred Years War, by the importance these have in Froissart's narrative. The mechanisms of manuscript reproduction would easily explain why these scenes were often repeated in later manuscripts.

Although VARVARO uses the frequent reoccurrence of these twenty illustrations as his main argument for attributing them to Froissart, there is also some good independent evidence for his hypothesis which was unknown to him (at least for five of the twenty miniatures). One of the earliest copies of Book I, the so-called Soubise manuscript (Paris, BnF, fr. 6477–6479), contains spaces left for paintings which have not been executed. Apart from an opening miniature these all concern battles (Crécy, Poitiers, Cocherel, Auray and Nájera). Each one of these has been illustrated in nearly every single illustrated copy from the Parisian and Burgundian groups of manuscripts. Since the Soubise manuscript (which may have been produced directly under Froissart's supervision) and the later illustrated copies contain

different authorial versions of the *Chronicles* (the "B" and "A" versions of Book I respectively), it is quite likely that any common features of the illustrative programmes are not simply the result of later manuscript transmission but originated with the author himself. If that is that case, they may be important for the identification of the passages which Froissart himself deemed most important and guide the overall interpretation of his work.

A limited programme of illustration focussed on warfare and the great English victories (all the above mentioned battles except Cocherel) would certainly have seemed suitable for an English audience. An expanded version of this illustrative programme, including another fifteen battles, is found in some of the early Parisian copies of Book I (New York, Morgan Library, M.804; Toulouse, BM, 511; Glasgow, UL, Hunter 42; Paris, BnF, fr. 2662). In the manuscripts connected with the *libraire* Pierre de Liffol some of the additional scenes are also found, but these copies also articulate other preoccupations, in particular with legitimate succession and good government, in miniatures illustrating royal and princely successions (Paris, BnF, fr. 2663–2664; Besançon, BM, 864–865; Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College, ms. 1; London, BL, add. 38658–38659; Brussels, KBR, II 88 and IV 251 [Fig. 23]). L. HARF-LANCNER has interpreted many of the Parisian copies as pro-French (because they emphasise the majestic French royal banner in their depictions of battle scenes) or as anti-English, although the evidence for the latter is ambiguous and relies on particular interpretations of how King Edward III is portrayed in both text and illustration.

5. Books II–IV

In the manuscripts of Books II–IV fewer repeated scenes can be identified than in Book I. In the Parisian copies of Book II the common illustrations are restricted to the main battles of the Flemish uprising (Beverhoutsveld and Westrozebeke, also the attack on the count's *bailli* in Ghent at the start of the conflict). The illustrations in the Parisian copies of Book III show a common interest in the Iberian Wars (battle of Aljubarrota), the crusades against the Turks (battle of Kosovo Polje), and legitimate succession (in relation to Foix and Béarn), aspects which are all central to Froissart's text.

The Burgundian manuscripts of Books II, III and IV show a much greater cohesion in their illustrative programmes. This is probably caused both by textual filiations between the manuscript copies and by the common social, political and cultural outlook shared by their commissioning patrons. The illustrations in the Burgundian copies are not, however, slavish copies as can be seen from the large variation in the numbers of miniatures across manuscripts. Themes elaborated in these illustrations include good government and correct princely behaviour, realities of politics (in particular duplicity and treachery), international diplomacy and marriage policy, the whims of Fortune, crusades, urban revolt, military tactics and strategy, political and economic importance of towns and cities, and courtly life and culture. There is plenty of evidence that the Burgundian artists had detailed knowledge of Froissart's text beyond the mere rubrics accompanying their miniatures. L. STOCK has shown how the illustrations of the so-called "Bal des Ardents", an incident in 1393 related in Book IV in which the French King Charles VI was nearly killed, provide a sustained commentary on the monarch's political role in general and on Charles VI's inadequacies in particular, which teases out many aspects implicit in Froissart's prose. The lavishly illustrated copy once owned by Anthony of Burgundy is stemmatically probably quite close to the lost common ancestor of all the Burgundian manuscripts, but in many ways it differs from the other copies through its individualised textual readings, its expanded set of rubrics and its luxurious illustration. It is the only copy which highlights to such an extent an important literary aspect of the text of Books III and IV of the *Chronicles*: the diegetic and extra-diegetic presence of Froissart, who in this part of his *Chronicles* provides not only an historical account of recent events, but also a literary representation of his methods of information gathering. The same manuscript has also been lauded for its highly skilled representation of rural and urban landscapes.

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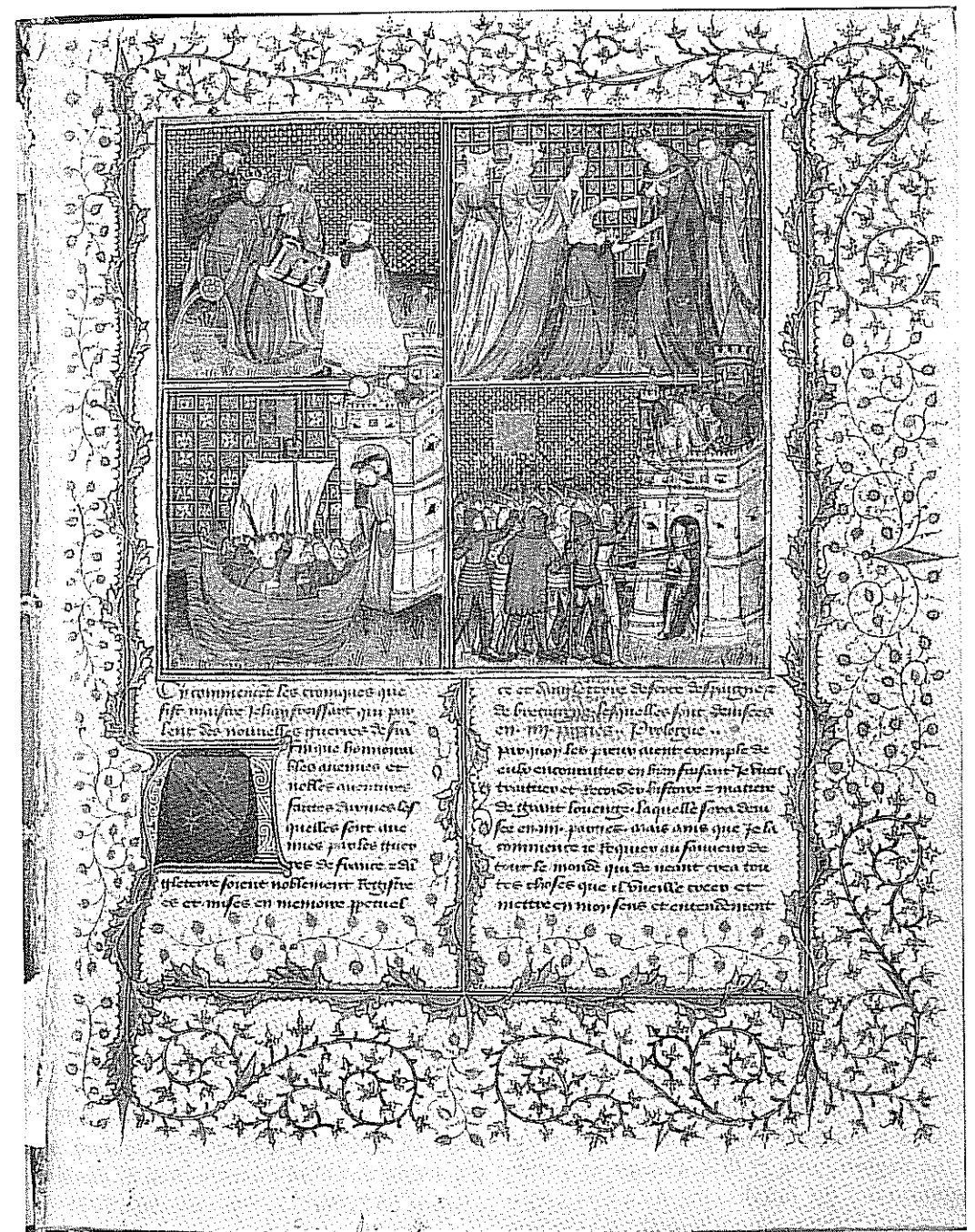


Fig. 23 Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*. Four-part frontispiece, in the first scene Froissart offers a copy of his work to King Richard II of England. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België / Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, IV 251, vol. 1, fol. 1^r.

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GODFRIED CROENEN

Fructus temporum [Fruyt of the Times]

late 15th century. England. Printed universal and *Brut* chronicle in English. Consisting of segments of a world chronicle spliced into a version of the English Prose → *Brut*, *Fructus temporum* demonstrates the interlocking nature of continental and insular materials in the production of printed chronicles in late medieval England. The world chronicle incorporated here is based primarily on the widely circulated 15th-century *Fasciculus temporum* by Werner → Rolewinck, which in turn draws heavily on → Martin of Opava. MADDEN thought that the *Fructus temporum* compiler used Martin directly, but KENNEDY agrees with BRIE that Rolewinck is closer.

The earliest known copy of *Fructus temporum* is a printed edition by the Schoolmas-

ter of St. Albans. It was formerly estimated as ca 1483, but the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Library* suggests ca 1486, based on the state of the type and use of initials being very similar to those in the *Book of Hawking*, printed at St Albans not before 1486. This edition was followed by other early printings by Wynkyn de Worde (1497), Julian Notary (1515), and Richard Pynson (1528). There is no evidence that this world chronicle ever circulated in English separately from its partnership with the English Prose *Brut*. The only known manuscript copy of *Fructus temporum* (Glasgow, UL, Hunterian 83), a section from the beginning, was almost exactly transcribed from the St. Albans print and also accompanies a Prose *Brut*.

In its combination of British history with world and biblical history, *Fructus temporum* resembles → Trevisa's translation of → Higden's *Polychronicon*, which → Caxton printed in 1482, and indeed the Hunterian manuscript was initially misidentified as a *Polychronicon* text. There is no modern edition, though facsimiles of the early printings are available on Early English Books Online. In *Ivanhoe* (ch. 40), Sir Walter Scott referred to *Fructus temporum* as an example of an overly lengthy book, whose superfluous weight a sensible horse refused to carry.

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CAROLINE D. ECKHARDT

Fründ, Hans

ca 1400–1468/9. Switzerland. Scribe in the chancellery of Lucerne, chancellor (*Land-schreiber*) of Schwyz and imperial notary. Author of a report on witch trials and of a chronicle of the Alter Zürichkrieg, both in German prose.

As scribe in the chancelleries of Lucerne and Schwyz, Hans (or Johannes) Fründ had access to official documents, which he used around 1431 to assemble an account on how the prosecution of witches began in the South-Western Swiss diocese of Sion. A presumed autograph is contained in Johannes → Zumbach's copy of the → *Konstanzer Weltchronik*: Lucerne, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, ms. 335 fol., 483^r–488^v.

In 1447, Fründ wrote a chronicle of the conflict known as *Alter Zürichkrieg*, which threatened to tear the Swiss Confederation apart in the years after 1436. As scribe in the field, Fründ had taken part in the battles, and claims to have witnessed the reported cruelties. Though he presents himself as an impartial commentator with regard to documentary evidence, he is a clear supporter of the Anti-Habsburg party of Schwyz. He is the first to report that the Swiss were accused of having sodomite intercourse with their cattle (*küegegeyer*). Due to sickness, Fründ did not finish his report of the peace treaty of 1446. The text survives in a copy by Melchior Rupp from 1476 that was later owned by Aegidius Tschudi, now St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 644. A copy from 1532 (Zürich, ZB, cod. A 54/55) appears to reproduce an older version that was already used by Benedict Tschachtlan in 1469.

In older scholarship, Fründ is sometimes erroneously cited as the author of the → *Herkommen der Schwyzer und Oberhasler*.

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RAINER HUGENER

Frutolf von Michelsberg

d. 1103. Germany. Monk and prior at Michelsberg Abbey in Bamberg. Author of a Latin *Chronica*. Frutolf is attested as scribe at Michelsberg,

and according to → Heimo von Bamberg (*Chronographia seu decursu temporum*) he was also a *magister*. His authorship is also confirmed for a *Breviarum de musica*.

Written ca 1099, the *Chronica* is one of the most important medieval works of chronography. It was considered lost until BRESSLAU established that → Ekkehard of Aura's vastly influential *Chronicon universale* is largely a partisan revision of Frutolf's work. Modelled conceptually on → Jerome's translation of → Eusebius' world chronicle, Frutolf's *Chronica* combines an annalistic world-history complete with tabular information on rulers with the use of different chronological systems and narrative passages. The latter are used predominantly to mark key events and the accessions of new rulers. Frutolf treats his many sources (e.g. the → *Chronicon Wirziburgense*) with remarkable caution. Where contradictions in dating or in content occur, he seeks to resolve or explain them, and he openly questions the historical value of heroic tales. Yet his *Chronica* is notable as one of the first chronicles to express the *translatio imperii* concept and to read the Israelite kingdom as a precursor to the Roman Empire. However Frutolf refrains from theological or typological interpretations of transfers of power.

His autograph survives with changes and additions by Ekkehard in Jena, UB, cod. Bose q. 19, and as a partial copy, Karlsruhe, LB, cod. 504, 187^r–197^v, for the years 1057–99 and 1100–01.

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KERSTIN PFEIFFER

Fuetrer, Ulrich

fl. 1453–95/6. Germany. Painter at the court of Duke Albrecht IV in Munich. Author of Arthurian literature and a *Bayerische Chronik* (Bavarian Chronicle) in Early Modern German prose.

Originating perhaps from Landshut, Fueter was known as a master painter in Munich from 1453, where he also owned a house (attested 1482). He painted by commission of the monastery of Tegernsee, the city of Munich and Duke Albrecht (mostly heraldic, non-artistic works are documented). Although he also wrote the *Buch der Abenteuer* (Book of Adventures), an extensive compilation of Arthurian literature, and a prose *Lantzilet* as well as his *Chronik* (all on behalf of Albrecht), he is documented outwith his works only as a painter, never as a poet.

By his own testimony, Fueter started his chronicle in 1478 and finished it on Saint Ulrich's Eve 1481. In the preface he announces that he will stick to the wise and learned chroniclers, whom he prefers to the misleading *fliegende Cronicken* (flying chronicles). In fact, Fueter uses a wide variety of sources, which are diligently combined and assessed. As his main informant he cites a certain Garibaldus; though this chronicler is not known elsewhere, there is no evidence that the reference is fictitious. He also uses better known historians like Jakob → Twinger von Königshofen, Hans → Ebran von Wildenberg, → Andreas of Regensburg and the → *Sächsische Weltchronik*, but also fictional works like the *Jüngere Titulrel* and *Lohengrin*.

Fueter arranges this rich material according to his guideline *alls in ain summ zu pringen* (to sum everything up) that concerns the origin of the House of Bavaria. He opens with the Roman conquest of Armenia, which enables him to connect the history of the emperors with the mythical ancestor of Bavaria, the Armenian emigrant Bavarus. Fueter now executes some bold genealogical manipulations: he draws a direct line of succession from Bavarus to Garibaldus, the first Christian ruler of Bavaria, and makes Garibaldus' second son Odilo the ancestor of the Carolingians, who for their part had become the traditional progenitors of the Wittelsbach earlier in Bavarian historiography. Arrangements like these allow Fueter not only to connect territorial with world-history (and even the history of the grail) but also to establish an unbroken → genealogy: all Bavarian rulers are related by their *edel pluet* (noble blood). With the insertion of some broader narrated episodes from time to time (e.g. on Theolinda, Charles the Great or Jacobäa), where direct speech is used, Fueter follows his dynastic concept up to the times of Albrecht IV, though this duke himself is not discussed.

The account of Albrecht is reserved to a continuation found in the Wessobrunn manuscript, ascribed to Peter → Paumgartner (Munich, BSB, cgm 565). Besides this record, thirteen further manuscripts are transmitted, one with a shorter continuation (Munich, BSB, cgm 566) and one with an illustrated family tree (Munich, BSB, cgm 225; used by Veit → Arnpeck).

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GABRIEL VIEHHAUSER

Fulcher of Chartres

1059–ca 1127. France, then Palestine. Author of a Latin *Historia Hierosolymitana* (History of Jerusalem). As participant of the First Crusade, probably a follower of Count Stephen of Blois, Fulcher travelled through Italy and crossed from Bari to Constantinople. Shortly before the arrival of the army at Antioch (1097), he became chaplain of Baldwin of Boulogne and followed him when he split off from the main army to conquer Edessa. After Baldwin's election as king (1100), Fulcher lived in Jerusalem and accompanied the king on several military campaigns. The pronounced interest in the relic of the Holy Rood suggests a canonry at the Holy Sepulchre. As the text breaks off abruptly with a plague of rats in 1127, it is assumed that Fulcher died that year.

The *Historia Hierosolymitana* is an important source for the crusade and the history of the king-

dom of Jerusalem, because Fulcher witnessed many of the events he reports. References to himself suggest several stages of writing from 1101 onwards. In its final form the text is divided into three books. Book I covers the period between the Council of Clermont and the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, Book II treats the reign of Baldwin I, and Book III recounts the early years of Baldwin II's government. Fulcher claims insistently to be an eyewitness and delivers personal remarks on the situation of the crusaders. Where he is not a witness, he follows the → *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. Verse passages highlight important events. In the course of the narrative the perspective changes considerably. During the crusade Fulcher justifies massacres as divine punishments of heathen polluters and can even rejoice in slaughter. In the narrative of Baldwin's expeditions, however, the humanity of the enemies is stressed. Similarly, he praises the bravery of Baldwin I without mentioning his conflict with the patriarch, whereas Baldwin II is firmly condemned for his disrespect for the clergy. Even the image of God is affected by Fulcher's changing outlook. In the first book visions and miracles attest to direct interventions in human affairs, but in the later part God's will expresses itself exclusively in human action. From 1120 onwards Fulcher shows a remarkable interest in natural phenomena and presents himself as a scientist who conducts experiments.

There are 16 manuscripts in two recensions. The shorter and simpler version is part of an omnibus of which seven manuscripts survive. It supplements Fulcher's text with the accounts of → Walter the Chancellor and → Raymond of Aguilers. Both relate events reported by Fulcher from a different and sometimes opposite point of view. Editorial remarks incite the reader to correct Fulcher's partisan outlook with the help of the other texts. The most carefully executed manuscript (Paris, BnF, lat. 14378) contains a dedication to French king Louis VII. Fulcher's narrative was vastly influential for later crusade chronicles. → William of Malmesbury and → Orderic Vitalis praise it, while → Guibert de Nogent criticizes Fulcher's style and his partiality. → Bartolf of Nangis, Lisiard of Tours, and an anonymous author in Cambridge, UL, Kk.6, 1576, rework the text. The *Historia Hierosolymitana* was first published by J. Bongars in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* (1611).

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BEATE SCHUSTER

Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades

6th century. North Africa. A Christian writer of late antiquity whose identity with the Carthaginian saint and bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe has been mooted. He is best known for *Mythologiae*, in which he aims to give the classical mythologies a Christian meaning. He also wrote an exposition on Virgil and a short dictionary of obscure words.

His *De aetatibus mundi et hominis* (On the Ages of the World and of Man) is a world chronicle in fourteen books which is possibly the first to use Augustine's scheme of *aetates* as a guiding principle in universal history, though this is more a play on the motifs of ages of the world and of human life than a consistent use of numbered ages to provide a structure for the work. In merging Biblical with classical history it follows its two main sources, → Eusebius-Jerome and → Orosius, but in the light of the common theme running through all of Fulgentius' works, it must have been a particular desideratum for him to reclaim classical history for Christendom. A whimsical feature of this work is that in each of the fourteen books one letter of the alphabet is avoided: the letter A does not occur in book one, book two contains no words with the letter B, and so forth, a rhetorical conceit which further obscures his in any case opaque writing style. Manuscript: Vatican, BAV, vat pal 866, written in Lorsch in the 9th century. Other copies exist from the 12th century onwards. *Editio princeps* by Jacob Hommes, Paris 1694.

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GRAEME DUNPHY

Furmann, Stephan

ca 1440–1503. East Germany. Vicar in Görlitz (Upper Lusatia) and author of a small Latin town chronicle. He was born in Drebkau (Brandenburg), and attended school there (1451) and in Görlitz (1452). In 1475 he became vicar at the altar of the St. Jacob Hospital *extra muros* and in 1481 at various altars in the parish church St. Peter & St. Paul.

His short chronicle (*Annales etwan eines alten Priesters...*) begins with the foundation of Görlitz in 1131 and ends in 1484. Apart from the topics which the author considered noteworthy (coronation of monarchs, natural disasters, wars), the second part of the text on events during the lifetime of the author (e.g. local church history, municipal

fortifications etc.) is of particular importance, as is the appendix, which contains extracts of official letters and a list of the incomes of the St. Jacob's Chapel from civic donations. The main agenda of the chronicle is to increase the importance of the small St. Jacob's Hospital. The autograph is lost. The surviving 18th-century transcription by Jacob Gottlieb Kloss (Wrocław, BU, 6431) also mentions a Marcus Heyne, but his contribution to the authorship is unclear.

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CHRISTIAN SPEER

Gabriel ibn al-Qilā'ī

ca 1450–1516. Lebanon. A Maronite, Franciscan monk, and author of poetic and polemical works in Arabic containing material of historical value, most notably *Madiḥa 'alā jabal lubnān* (An Encomium of Mount Lebanon). Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī al-Liḥfidī was among the first Maronites to train in Rome, where he joined the Franciscans. A champion of Catholic orthodoxy in Lebanon, he was concerned to demonstrate the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites against the claims of competing Christian sects, particularly the Miaphysite "Jacobites".

Madiḥa is a long poem of the *zajal* form, addressed to those Maronite worthies who had strayed from orthodoxy, particularly the chieftain 'Abd al-Mun'im of Bsharri. Marrying fact to legend, it relates the valiance and orthodoxy of the Maronite chieftains, from a hazy golden age, perhaps in the seventh century, to his own day. Along with Gabriel's letters and theological and polemical works, *Madiḥa* is important as a rare source for the Maronites' history in the period surrounding the Crusades. Gabriel was among the first of his coreligionists to consult documents such as papal bulls, and to grasp, of ages past, that "Had [their events] not been recorded / No man would have spoken of them. / But [there are] annals to tell us / Of things that happened in our homeland."

The manuscripts of *Madiḥa* (or parts thereof) can be found in Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph, ms. 15 and 630, Bkerke (Jounieh), Maronite Patriarchate, ms. 117, Vatican, BAV, Borgia ms. ar. 175, Louaizeh, Notre Dame University, Faytroun ms. 76, Vatican, BAV, vat. syr. 210, and others (see further MOUKARZEL 417).

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LUKE YARBROUGH

Gaguin, Robert (Robertus Gaguinus)

ca 1433–1501. France. Dean at the faculty of canon law at the Sorbonne, minister general of the order of Trinitarians, diplomat for the French crown, author of a chronicle written for the print medium. Gaguin was at the centre of humanist life in Paris in the final decades of the 15th century, and in contact with humanists all over Europe. Spare pages in the first edition of his chronicle were offered to Erasmus for his very first publication, a letter in praise of Gaguin's work (Ep 45). For a later edition, the same honour was extended to Cornelius → Aurelius.

The chronicle, *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum*, was published by Pierre Le Dru in Paris in 1495 (GW 10451). It presents an account of French history from creation to Gaguin's own time, cast in humanist Latin. He principally based it on the → *Grandes chroniques de France*, but used information from an impressive array of additional sources, in manuscript and in print, including several classical sources and the works of → Emond de Dynter, → Enguerrand de Monstrelet, → Suger of St. Denis, → Vincent of Beauvais, Bartolomeo → Platina and Jean → Froissart, among many others. He also added information from personal observation, for example on diplomatic missions he had himself carried out, including a muddled account of a failed embassy to Henry VII of England in 1489–90.

The author's introduction is erroneously dated 30 September 1499; it should in fact be (and is in

many copies corrected as) 1495. This typo is the reason why many sources incorrectly cite the 1497 edition as the *editio princeps*. Gaguin revised and expanded his history in two consecutive editions (1497 [reissued in 1498], 1500), adding information from additional sources, such as → Gregory of Tours, Giovanni → Simonetta, → William of Malmesbury and Flavio → Biondo.

The final edition to be published under authorial control is from 1500, but the chronicle was regularly reprinted in subsequent years. A French version was only one of seven translations produced in the early years of the 16th century, and the work made a particular impact in England. Among Gaguin's other works are French translations of the third decade of Livy and of Caesar's *De bello Gallica*, a poem on the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin and an *Ars versificatoria*.

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SJOERD LEVELT

Gaimar, Geffrei

fl. 1136-1137. England. Anglo-Norman verse chronicler. Little is known about Geffrei Gaimar apart from his surviving work. *L'Estoire de Engleis* was originally part of a larger project which began with Jason and Troy and concluded with the death of William Rufus in 1100. In his epilogue, Gaimar claimed to work from books in English, French and Latin which he borrowed from → Robert of Gloucester, Walter Espec and Walter, archdeacon of Oxford (owner of the putative very ancient book that → Geoffrey of Monmouth claims was his source). His lost *Brut* was almost certainly a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin *Historia*, while the surviving history of the Anglo-Saxons, which begins with the arrival of Cerdic in 495, translates a northern recension of the → *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The conclusion of the *Estoire*, beginning with Edgar, is an amalgam of several sources, possibly including

the otherwise elusive French text. It is clear from his citations that Gaimar also used a variety of sources throughout the text. Several interpolated episodes, including narratives of Siebrit, Hereward, Buern Bucecarle, and Havelok, focus on local opposition to oppressive royal authority and thus anticipate the concerns of later Anglo-Norman romances. Written in octosyllabic couplets and with a chivalric flair, the *Estoire* is the first example of the developing vernacular secular historical writing of the 12th century. Gaimar wrote under the patronage of Constance, the wife of Ralf FitzGilbert of Lincolnshire, and his text shows some interest in the Lincoln area. The inclusion of the first version of the Havelok story, and a general interest in Danish influence on English history (found also in the Buern Bucecarle addition), may be indicative of Lincolnshire concerns. The *Estoire* survives in four manuscripts, following → Wace's *Roman de Brut* (ca 1155) in each case. Wace's popular translation of Geoffrey's *Historia* may, in fact, account for the loss of Gaimar's own *Brut*. One manuscript, London, College of Arms, Arundel 14, begins imperfectly at line 817, thus omitting the Havelok story which normally acts as a kind of prologue. (The omission seems to be intentional, as the *Lai d'Aveloc* follows Gaimar's text.) The earliest surviving manuscript, Durham, Cathedral Library, C IV 27 (ca 1200) is used by BELL for his edition. He suggests that the text resurfaced in the late 12th century after being confined to the FitzGilbert household.

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RICHARD MOLL

Galbert of Bruges

early 12th century. Flanders. Galbert was a cleric, possibly a canon of the chapter of Saint Donatian, and a marginal member of the comital

administration, perhaps working as a notary in the fiscal administration of the castellany of Bruges. He wrote a Latin account of the murder of Charles, Count of Flanders, who was assassinated in Saint Donatian, the castral church of Bruges on 2 March 1127.

Written in 1127-28, Galbert's *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum* (on the treacherous murder of Charles, the glorious count of Flanders) treats this murder as a martyrdom, a sacrilegious scandal and a political fact which troubled the whole land and stirred political forces within Flanders and beyond. A competent, involved and keen eyewitness, digesting oral and written information, Galbert reports the ensuing spectacular events, from March 1127 to the Summer of 1128, such as the beleaguering of the murderers and their henchmen within the burg of Bruges in 1127, the rebellion of urban communities in 1128 against William Clito (1127-28), the successor of the murdered count, and the dwindling of the troubles at the end of July 1128 upon William's death and the accession of Thierry of Alsace (1128-68) to the countship.

Astounded by the murder of Count Charles and the subsequent conflicts and wars, he wrote, apparently without a patron or a clearly defined audience, to "compose his perturbed mind". He searched for insights into the course of events, their cause and their place in the divine plan, rendering and dating these events for the greatest part according to their course from day to day, revising and polishing his annotations, albeit not in its entirety. His work therefore can be characterised as a reasoned war journal, although he dedicated a few chapters to Charles, extolling him as a saint and martyr, and once referred to his work as a *Passio*.

Gilbert was a skilful raconteur with a sense for drama and irony. Although his work is now held in high esteem as a literary gem, a small masterpiece and a rich source of information for multifarious aspects of history, it was barely known in the Middle Ages. Neither the autograph nor a single medieval copy survives. The complete text is preserved in two 17th-century manuscripts (Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, 570, fol. 1^r-104^r; Paris, BnF, Coll. Baluze 43, fol. 260^r-318^r). A late 16th-century or early 17th-century manuscript (Arras, BM, 115, fol. 1^r-70^v) contains most of the text and excerpts from it can be found in two 17th-century manuscripts (Paris, BnF, Duchesnes 57, fol. 336^r-344^r; Paris, BnF, fr. 17,849,

fol. 1^r-1^v). A 16th-century manuscript preserves a partial French translation (the first 37 chapters of the 122 chapters: Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, 1499), presumably dating from the 15th century. First almost complete edition by the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, March I (Antwerp, 1688).

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BERT DEMYTTENAERE

Galceran de Tous

late 13th century. Catalonia (Iberia). A monk of the Benedictine monastery of Santes Creus (Catalonia) and collaborator of King Pere II of Catalonia and Aragon, for whom he carried out diplomatic negotiations in France, Galceran is probably the author of the Catalan-language *Crònica del rei En Pere* (Chronicle of King Peter), a title given by CINGOLANI. The *Crònica* is interpolated in one of the manuscripts of the chronicle of Bernat → Desclot (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 241, 173^v-195^v). The chronicle is incomplete and we only know the titles of the last chapters. Although it is quite evident that the chronicle ends where Desclot's chronicle finishes, with the end of the war against France, the death of King Philippe III "le Hardi" and, possibly, that of King Pere II (1285), we cannot know where exactly it began. According to CINGOLANI, the *Crònica del rei En Pere* was written between 1285 and 1295.

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DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Galician-Volhynian Chronicle

late 13th century. → Rus'. Church Slavonic (Ruthenian recension). The chronicle is the third and final part of the → *Hypatian Chronicle* (St. Petersburg, Библиотека Российской Академии наук, 16.4.4). It was conceived and continued through the 13th century as the family saga of one princely clan, the descendants of prince Roman of Volhynia and Galicia. It covers the events from the death of Roman in 1205 to 1289, which is the last date mentioned. Written in imitation of Byzantine chronicles, it manifests a departure from the annalistic type of chronicle-writing typical of the Rus' at that time. Rather, it is structured as a series of biographies, first of prince Daniel and his brother Vasilko, later of Vasilko's son Volodimer of Volhynia. The chronological grid found in one (Hypatian) copy is an artificial construction imposed in the 15th century by the editor or the scribe of the copy. It is assumed that the chronicle was composed in several stages by various authors, yet the exact number of chronological layers within the text is still a matter of a debate. In spite of its somewhat narrow focus, the chronicle serves as the principal source for the events in Southern and South-Western Rus' of the 13th century.

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OLEKSIY TOLOCHKO

Galic Chronicle of 452

[*Chronica Gallica ad an. CCCCLII; Chronicon imperiale; Chronicon Pithoeanum*]

5th century. Gaul (France). An anonymous Gallic continuation of → Jerome's *Chronici canones*, written in Valence or Marseille and attributed to → Prosper in the manuscripts. It is a pessimistic account of the collapse of Gaul and the entire Roman empire in the face of barbarian invasion and the spread of heresy, and as such it is a valuable and unique window into the events of and provincial mindset during the middle of the 5th century. There are three different groups of manuscripts, all descending from a single exemplar of the 6th or 7th century. With the exception of → Sigebert of Gembloux, who used it as a major source for his chronicle, no medieval author presents any direct knowledge of this work. The oldest and most important manuscripts are London, BL, add. ms. 16974 (late 9th or early 10th century), Bamberg, SB, Patr. 62 (early 11th), and Munich, UB, 2° Cod. ms. 6 (early 11th).

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Galic Chronicle of 511

6th century. Gaul (France). An anonymous continuation of → Jerome's *Chronici canones*, written in 511, probably in Arles, and attributed to → Sulpicius Severus in the sole surviving manuscript (Madrid, Biblioteca Complutense, ms. 134, 13th century), which also includes an augmented epitome of Jerome. The surviving text has been

heavily abbreviated (perhaps more than once), so it is difficult to say anything specific about the author or his purposes. → Hydatius, → Orosius, the → *Galic Chronicle of 452*, and a recension of the → *Consularia Italica* are the most obvious surviving sources for the work, and they make up the bulk of the narrative before ca 450. There is also evidence for the use of a now-lost chronicle of Arles and a source that parallels → Marius of Avenches, → Isidore, and the → *Consularia CaesarAugustana*. After 450 the chronicle becomes more valuable as a witness to events in southern Gaul, northern Spain, and northern Italy.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Gallus Anonymus

fl. 1112–18. Poland. A French Benedictine, most likely from the Abbey of Saint Gilles in Provence, who wrote a chronicle of Poland, *Cronicae et Gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*. As early as the 16th century, its authorship was attributed to an unidentified monk of Frankish origin and dubbed Gallus Anonymus (in Polish, Gall Anonim). It is likely that the monk arrived in Poland via Hungary (the Abbey of Samogyvár) before 1110. This interpretation is generally accepted, but has recently been challenged with the argument that the monk had an Italian background (Monachus Littorensis). The date of composition can be estimated from the four episcopates to whom the work is dedicated: Archbishop Marcin of Gniezno, and bishops Szymon of Plock, Pawel of Poznan, Maur of Kraków (died 5 March 1118), and Zyrosław of Wrocław (appointed 1112).

As the oldest extant Polish narrative source, the chronicle established the chronology of Polish history and became the principal source for later authors such as Wincenty → Kadiubek and Jan → Długosz. The sources of the chronicle range from eyewitness accounts, dynastic oral history and court tradition, to lost written works. Amongst the sources the author distinguished "his helper the venerable Chancellor Michael, the maker of the task embarked upon" to whom he also refers as a "co-worker." It is likely that Michael Awdaniec, an elder statesman of a powerful magnate clan known as the Awdancy, commissioned the chronicle.

The chronicle is a panegyric for Bolesław III the Wrymouth, and has a strongly ideological character. The author places his protagonist at the centre of events in the narrative, and also presents the dynastic programme of the Piasts, which from the 10th century incorporated state formation, territorial expansion and the conversion of neighbouring pagans.

It was composed in three books, each opening with an introductory epistle and epilogue in octosyllabic leonine verses. Book I presents the ancestry of Bolesław III and supports the legitimacy of the rule of the Piast dynasty by recording, explaining and highlighting the dynasty's claim to the throne through its mythical origins. It tells the story of Bolesław's legendary ancestors and depicts a watershed of Polish history; the conversion of Mieszko I (960–92) to Christianity. In Book I, twelve chapters are devoted to the reign of Bolesław I (992–1025) and his achievements in consolidating the Piast realm and his wars with the neighbouring pagans. Book II records twenty three years (1086–1109) beginning with reign of Władysław I Herman and recounts the conflict of Bolesław III and his half-brother Zbigniew. It also introduces the military campaigns in Pomerania (presented according to the convention of proto-crusades) and focuses on the martial qualities and virtues of Bolesław III. Book III covers only four years (1109–13) and continues the theme of successful wars with the Czechs and the conquest of Pomerania, but ends abruptly with the demise of Zbigniew and Bolesław III's public penance for his brother's death.

The most complete text of the chronicle is known from the *Codex Zamoyscianus* (Warsaw, BN, BOZ cīm 28, fols. 20^r–54^r, 1380–92), the earliest of the three extant copies of the original manuscript; the others are known as the *Sedziwoj Codex* (Kraków,

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DARIUS VON GÜTTNER SPORZYŃSKI

Galter of Arrouaise

1155–1193. France. Canon of the abbey of Arrouaise in the diocese of Arras at the age of 8, and abbot at 25, Galter (or Gautier) decided to compose a cartulary to store all charters received by the abbey. In his preface he gave his reasons for this, discussing the preservation of charters and uses of a cartulary (see → Cartulary chronicles and legal texts). He also gave the history of the monastery, from its foundation as a hermitage around 1090, its transformation into an abbey of regular canons from 1097, and the creation of the Order of Arrouaise ca 1120/1130. Much emphasis is placed on its economic problems. The work includes a list of the bishops of Arras, together with their dates. The first and second crusades are the only events mentioned that do not concern the diocese. The whole chronicle is very short (9 pages), and survives in one manuscript: Amiens, BM, ms. 1077. It was continued by → Robert of Arrouaise.

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BENOÎT TOCK

Galvão, Duarte

ca 1445–1517. Portugal. Diplomat, royal councillor, and author of the *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques*. Written in the years 1505–9, this Portuguese vernacular chronicle of Afonso Henriques, first king of Portugal (1109?–85), was commissioned by Manuel I.

Copying largely from the account of Afonso Henriques's reign in the → *Crónica de 1419*, it enhances the tradition, grounded in monastic early 14th-century narratives, of a heroic, almost supernatural, memory of the king. Despite this, it remained the official history of the period for four centuries. Among the main glorifying features taken from the 1419 chronicle is the report of Christ's appearance to the king, just after he was appointed by his peers, and before he won the battle of Ourique against the Moors (1139), a late 14th-century invention. Galvão adds praise of the king's virtues and comments of his own: criticising parents who curse their children, as Afonso's Castilian mother did to him after he put her in prison, thereby leading to his only defeat.

Of the seven extant manuscripts, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Alc. 290, is believed to be closest to the original text.

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TERESA AMADO

García de Salazar, Lope

15th century. Castile (Iberia). Author of a chronicle of Biscay and a general chronicle. This Biscayan nobleman (1399–1476), who was involved in continuous litigation throughout his life, was confined by his own family to live in seclusion in a house in San Martín, where he had an extensive library that provided him with the materials to write history.

García de Salazar's *Crónica de Vizcaya*, finished in February 1454, divides the history of Biscay in eight chapters relating the origins of the lords of Biscay and those of the principal lineages of the territory (Lara, Castro, Ayala, Salcedo etc.). There are thirteen extant manuscripts; the one containing the version believed to be closest to the authorial original is Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, ms. II 1772.

By contrast, the *Istoria de las bienandanzas e fortunas*, is an ambitious universal chronicle divided into 25 parts. The first twelve summarise facts of general history, the next seven focus on the history of Spain, while the last six are dedicated to the local episodes of Biscay. The chronicle, written between 1471 and 1476, was more focussed on gathering all sorts of narrative and legendary plots than on proposing an orderly narration in the style of the → *General estoria*, one of its main sources on Troy, Britain, and France. For this second chronicle, the sources for the *fechos de España* (facts of Spain) were the → *Estoria de Espanna* of → Alfonso X of Castile and León and the *Crónica de 1344* of → Pedro Afonso, Conde de Barcelos. But García de Salazar also took information from contemporary royal chronicles, and gathered from the oral tradition on *Roncesvalles*, as well as episodes of the *Siete infantes de Lara*, *La Condesa Traidora* or the *Mocedades de Rodrigo*. García de Salazar's *Istoria* was widely known. The oldest manuscript is the Mieres codex (Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 9–10–2/2100), which was finished in 1492; but there are forty-three more extant testimonies.

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FERNANDO GÓMEZ REDONDO

García de Santa María, Alvar

ca 1380–1460. Castile (Iberia). Brother of the chancellor don Pablo de → Santa María, under whose influence he converted from Judaism. He was elected by the regents don Fernando and doña Catalina to continue with the royal chronicle that was interrupted by the death of don Pedro → López de Ayala in 1407. The narration had been interrupted in the year 1395 of the reign of Enrique III, thus the new chronicler had to update the chronicle and begin with the account of Juan II's reign. However, he was never able to finish the task due to the multiple problems that he had to face during his office.

Don Alvar was in charge of the entire *Primera parte*, which covered the years from 1406 to 1418–19. The original work was lost, but three manuscripts of this section were preserved. They have an uneven structure, with occasional annalistic fragments that relate in detail certain facts such as Fernando de Antequera's military campaigns against Granada. The chronicler was so bound to the figure of the regent that he followed him to Aragón in 1412 when, after the compromise of Caspe, he assumed charge of that kingdom. García de Santa María kept a registry of the regent's deeds until his death in 1416, but thereafter this part of the chronicle is a thin narration up to 1419, when Juan II was declared of age. The *Segunda parte* covers the period 1420–34.

The original (El Escorial, RMsL, X.II.2) is a manuscript full of deletions and emendations, which supports the view that the chronicle was revised and adapted to the political thought of don Álvaro de Luna, the actual main character of this section, especially after his return in 1428 from his exile in Ayllón. The emendations were probably made by Ferrant Díaz de Toledo, the court reporter. For the period 1435–54 we have only the *Refundición* that Galíndez de Carvajal wrote with the existing materials that he also used for the *Crónica de Juan II*, printed in 1517.

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FERNANDO GÓMEZ REDONDO

Gardīzī

[ʿAbū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-Daḥḥāk b. Maḥmūd Gardīzī]

early 11th century AD (5th century AH). Persia. Author of a concise Persian-language work which is to some extent a general history in the Islamic tradition, beginning with the legendary kings of Persian national history, but whose originality stems from what is a chronicle of the history of the eastern Islamic world (essentially Eastern Persia, Transoxania, Afghanistan and northwestern India) from ad 650 to 1041. His *Kitab Zayn al-akhbar* (Book of the Ornament of Histories) seems to have been composed ca 1050. The author is a shadowy figure, but was apparently an official in the administration of the Ghaznavid sultans, who ruled an extensive empire stretching from northern Persia to northwestern India 977–1186. The Turkish ethnic origins of the Ghaznavids and their role as military conquerors in northern India, where Islam for the first time secured a tentative foothold through their raids, probably explain Gardīzī's addition to his history of sections on the Turkish tribes of Inner Asia and on the religions and philosophies of the Indians. The core of his book, the historical section, makes it a valuable source for the history of the eastern Islamic lands, especially for the later 9th, the 10th and the early 11th century, for these latter years a first-hand one.

Gardīzī's text exists in only two manuscripts: Cambridge, King's College, no. 213, and Oxford, Bodleian, Ouseley 240. The Cambridge manuscript is the older one, apparently dating from 1093/1682, and Oxford may have been copied from it in the next century.

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EDMUND BOSWORTH

Garró, Lluís

15th century. Catalonia (Iberia). Author of an annalistic chronicle in Catalan, written at Perpignan in 1423. The *Cronicó* begins with the establishment of Roman Emperor Honorius in Ravenna (404) and it concludes with the Catalan victory against the French fleet in the bay of Naples (1284). Among other sources, the chronicle uses manuscripts of the same family (see → *Chronicones Barcinonenses*) and the → *Crònicó dels fets d'Ultramar*. The manuscript is Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl.Kgl. 432 2^o.

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DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Garzoni, Giovanni

1419–1505. Italy. Humanist and physician, who taught at the University of Bologna. Author of a Bologna town chronicle and a history of wars in Germany, both in Latin.

His *De dignitate urbis Bononiae commentarius ad Antonium Bentivolum* (Commentary on the magnificence of the city of Bologna dedicated to Antonio Bentivoglio) is designed as an encomium for the history of the city from the beginnings until the reign of Giovanni II Bentivoglio (1443–1508), and especially for the merits of the Bentivoglio family. It is preserved in two manuscripts: Bologna, BU, ms. 752, and Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 2036, both 15th century. After dealing with the military and political achievements of the city, the chronicle presents Bologna's merits in the cultural-literary, administrative, juridical and religious areas: *Nulla est Respublica, quae non egeat re militari, sive te ad Aristotelem, sive ad Platonem referas—res militaris literarum studiis sit anteponenda* (There is no political system that does not require warfare—for this you can draw on Aristotle as well as Plato—warfare has to precede literary studies). The speech is dedicated to Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio, son of Giovanni II Bentivoglio.

Garzoni's *De rebvs Saxoniae, Thvringiae, Libonotriae, Misniae et Lusatiae libri dvo ad illustris-*

simum Federicum Saxoniae Ducem (Of the events of Thuringia, Libonotria, Meissen, Lusatia, in two books, to the illustrious Frederick Duke of Saxony), printed in Basel in 1518, was translated into German by Heinrich von Lindenau in 1546 as *Des Durchleuchtigen, Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Friderichen, Landgraffen inn Düringen, Marggraffen zu Meychssen [et]c. [...] Durch Johann Gerson von Bononien, der Ertzney Doctor im Latein beschriben, vnd volgent verdeutschet, vnd in zwey Bücher abgeteylet*. It gives an account of the wars between Frederick I, called the Brave, and his brother Dietzmann/Dietrich against their father Albert II, between 1291 and 1307. Garzoni's interest in Frederick's history may be explained by the fact that Frederick, as the last grandson of Emperor Frederick II, was the last living heir of the House of Hohenstaufen, whom the Lombard Ghibellines hoped would assume the leadership of the Hohenstaufens in Italy.

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EDELTRAUD WERNER

Gatari, Andrea

[da Gataro]

b. ca 1370–d. post 1454. Italy. Author of the *Diario del Concilio di Basilea* (Diary of the Council of Basel) and of a revised version of the *Chronicon Patavinum* (Chronicle of Padua). Born in Padua, he was the son of Galeazzo → Gatari, member of the guild élite and author of a vernacular chronicle concerning Padua under the rule of the da Carrara family from 1318 to 1407.

A member of the Venician delegation to the Council of Basel from September 1433 to October 1435, Andrea Gatari recorded this experience in a brief account, which he defines as a *chronicheta*, a journal vividly relating anecdotes, habits and society details rather than political matters.

The *Diario del Concilio di Basilea* is preserved in manuscript Venice, BNM, Lat. XIV,188.

Andrea Gatari is, however, best known for his revised and augmented version of the so-called *Chronicon Patavinum* (Chronicle of Padua), the chronicle written by his father, Galeazzo, and continued by his brother, Bartholomew, author of most of the additions in the years 1389–1407 and of the narrative about the failed capture of Padua by Marsilio da Carrara in 1435. Andrea's intervention in the text mostly consisted in moderating its rhetorical exuberance and in reorganizing its content—particularly for the period 1372–90—enriching the chronicle by the insertion of events not strictly belonging to Paduan history. Although less appreciated by recent scholarship, he still remains an original and autonomous figure. The version of the *Chronicon Patavinum* with the additions by Andrea Gatari is Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. Ital. 1134, olim I.H.40 now S 1,7.

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ANGELA TOMEI

Gatari, Galeazzo and Bartolomeo

14th–15th century. Italy. Galeazzo (1344–1405) and Bartolomeo (1380–1439) were the father and son authors of a history in the vernacular of the rule of the Carrara family over Padua from 1318 to 1405. Born in Padua into a merchant family from Bologna, Galeazzo practiced the trade of apothecary all his life, but by the 1370s he became a loyal servant of the Carrara regime, undertaking several diplomatic missions. He later held the office of treasurer of the Carrara household, which gave him access to many chancery documents when he began to compose his history of the

family's nearly century-long rule over Padua in the 1380s. Galeazzo had nearly finished his chronicle by the time of his death by plague in 1405, and it was completed by his son Bartolomeo, who brought the story down to the execution of family members in 1407, adding a number of Latin documents. Bartolomeo was, like his father, a member of the apothecary guild, which he often served as *gastaldo* (rector) and *massaro* (treasurer), and a member of Padua's Great Council and sometimes envoy to Venice.

The *Cronaca carrarese* (Chronicle of the da Carrara family) is as much a history of Padua as an account of the Carrara dynasty. It is particularly strong in its depiction of battles and its account of diplomacy, but at the same time is useful for its vivid portraits of leading personalities and descriptions of major public events, such as funerals. The earlier part of the chronicle is dependent on Carrara family histories, known as the → *Gesta magnifica domus carrariensis*, while its accounts of the Border War of 1372–73 and the Chioggia War draw heavily on the chronicles of Nicoletto → D'Alessio and Daniele → Chinzazzo respectively. The modern critical edition, entitled *Cronaca carrarese di Galeazzo e Bartolomeo Gatari, confrontata con la redazione di Andrea Gatari*, is based on Bartolomeo Gatari's early 15th-century autograph manuscript: Paris, BnF, Italien 262, augmented with excerpts from the later reworking of the chronicle by Bartolomeo's brother Andrea → Gatari. Taken altogether the *Cronaca carrarese* is perhaps the most detailed and authoritative contemporary account of the politics, wars and governance of an early Italian signorial state ever written.

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BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Gautier de Tournai

ca 1230–40. North West France, Low Countries. Probable author of a vernacular verse chronicle (5550 octosyllabical verses à *rimes plates*) recounting the history of Gille de Chyn, seigneur of Berlaymont (d. 1137), brother in arms of Baudouin IV, earl of Hainaut (1120/5–71), and telling how he battles wild animals and a giant. Between 1458 and 1467, an anonymous author wrote an adaptation in French prose entitled *Chronique du bon chevalier messire Gilles de Chin*. The chronicle is conserved in Paris, BnF, fr. 3140 (1571).

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CHRISTIAN DURY

Gazata, Pietro

1335–1414. Italy. Abbot of the abbey of San Prospero (Reggio Emilia). Gazata's mother's family, the Levalossi, had close links with the Benedictine monastery in Reggio, and in 1348 Pietro became a novice at the monastery. He went into exile in 1355, owing to the hostility of the Gonzagas. In 1362 he accompanied Guillaume de Grimoard to Avignon on his election as pope (Urban V), and was appointed abbot of San Prospero by the pope the following year; he returned to Reggio and devoted himself to rebuilding the monastery. His relations with Bernabò Visconti, ruler of Reggio from 1371, seem to have been good, and the monastery was able to recuperate property expropriated by the Gonzagas. Pietro remained abbot until his death at the age of 79.

He composed a *Memoriale* (Memorial) of his monastery, called by its modern editor the *Cronaca d'affari del Monastero di S. Prospero* (Chronicle of the affairs of the Monastery of S. Prospero), but he is best known as the author of the *Chronicon Regiense* (Chronicle of Reggio Emilia), which is based heavily on the *Gesta Lombardiae* (Deeds of Lombardy) of his uncle, the notary Sagacino Levalossi (1272–1357), a largely eyewitness account of contemporary affairs over the years 1303–35. Pietro revised his uncle's

chronicle and brought it up to date (it stops in mid-sentence in 1388), and added a preliminary section covering the years 800–1303. His sources for this first section may include lost chronicles (probably in Italian) by Sagacino and by Pietro's cousin Guido da Bagno (d. 1370), as well as the *Cronaca* of fra → Salimbene de Adam, the → *Liber de Temporibus* of Alberto Milioli and the *Memoriale potestatum Regensium* (Memorial of the potestà of Reggio).

Pietro's own section of the chronicle contains extensive material concerning San Prospero and information gathered from his numerous contacts among the city authorities, although, as he remarks laconically, *impossibile enim est omnibus interesse*. The author's style matures over time; there is a notable difference between Pietro's early redaction (lost during the sack of Reggio in 1371 and recovered damaged in 1382) and the later, which is both more confident in its handling of the material and written in a more classical, humanistic Latin. The chronicle is written in the annalistic format typical of a town chronicle, although its focus is Lombardy as a whole rather than just Reggio; it is strongly Ghibelline in stance. It was heavily used by chroniclers in Lombardy and elsewhere in the 16th and 17th centuries. The most important manuscript, which contains most of Gazata's work, is Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale, 8/1 (first half of the 15th century).

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PETER DAMIAN-GRINT

Gebwiler, Hieronymus

ca 1473–21 June 1545. Alsace. Humanist and schoolmaster in Sélestat, Strasbourg and Haguenau. Author of *Straßburger Chronik* (Chronicle of Strasbourg) and *Schlettstadter Chronik* (Chronicle of Sélestat), both written in Early Modern German.

The *Straßburger Chronik* was written during Gebwiler's appointment as headmaster of the Strasbourg cathedral school, most likely between 1521 and 1523. Although Gebwiler's concept could be seen as related to the model developed by → Jakob Twinger von Königshofen, he was far more concerned with the actual history of Strasbourg itself and planned a wider perspective on the European past only to be supplementary. The text is fragmentarily preserved and has been reconstructed using four original manuscript folios as well as excerpts of various later sources (Strasbourg, Archives municipales, AST 323/3, AA 185, AA 370).

Gebwiler chose a very similar pattern for his *Schlettstadter Chronik*, which must have been originally created in about 1530. It survives in Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, ms. 123, a 17th-century copy by Jakob Frey, a mayor of Sélestat.

Both chronicles display the author's interest in the topographical and economic situation of the respective towns. Gebwiler emphasizes for instance the significance of the river Ill for life in both Strasbourg and Sélestat. Other major topics are the history of ecclesiastical and secular institutions as well as armed conflicts over the centuries. Gebwiler's humanistic tendency can be seen in his critical approach to his sources.

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MARCO NEUMAIER

Gelasius of Caesarea

4th/5th century. Palestine. Since the end of the 4th century, Gelasius, a nephew of bishop Cyril of Jerusalem (348–87) and himself bishop of Caesarea from 367 to before September 400,

has been credited with the authorship of a Greek ἐκκλησιαστική ιστορία (church history) in continuation of → Eusebius' ecclesiastical history (see also Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 88) extending from 325 to Gelasius' own time. If this traditional view is correct, the work in question would be the first history of the Church written after Eusebius, and it would almost certainly have influenced later historians such as → Rufinus, → Socrates scholasticus, → Sozomen and → Theodoret. However, as far as can be ascertained from what survives of the text, none of these later authors actually draws on it, but on the contrary "Gelasius" includes material drawn from them. It therefore seems likely that the text we have is the work of a 5th-century compiler which included in particular large passages from Rufinus and Socrates. Why the compiler took the name of Gelasius remains unclear.

No manuscript of the text survives. Only fragments in later chroniclers, including → Theophanes Confessor and → Georgios monachos, are extant, and attempts at reconstructing this text from these fragments have only been partially successful. For example, it remains open whether the work ends with the death of Valens in 378, or with the death of Theodosius I in 395.

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PETER VAN NUFFELEN

Gemeine Eiderstedtische Chronik (Vernacular Chronicle of Eiderstedt)

late 15th and mid-16th century. Northern Germany. This Low German prose chronicle covers, although with some omissions, the years from 1103 to 1547. In annalistic form it presents the events affecting the region of Eiderstedt (today in Schleswig-Holstein), focussing above all on natural phenomena like thunderstorms, storm tides or livestock diseases. Written mainly in the late 15th century by Dirck Scriber, scribe for the council of Eiderstedt and member of a family of farm owners, it was enlarged by his brother Wenni Sywens and other family members until the mid-16th century. Information concerning histori-

cal and political developments in Late Medieval Northern Germany can be gleaned from the chronicle, especially regarding the relations of the Eiderstedt region with its direct neighbours: the region of Dithmarschen to the South, the Danish kings to the North and the counts of Gottorf to the East. There are several extant manuscripts of the *Gemeine Eiderstedtische Chronik*, mainly dependent on a codex written by the Dithmarsian chronicler Johann Russe in the second half of the 16th century: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 820 2°.

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MARTIN PRZYBILSKI

Genealogia comitum Flandrensi- um [Genealogia Bertiniana]

11th–12th century. Flanders. Short genealogy of the counts of Flanders, existing in three versions, until Robert II (1111) (204 words), Baldwin VII (1119) (243 words) and Thierry of Alsace (1168) (337 words) respectively. Usually known as the *Genealogia Bertiniana* because of the wrong attribution to a monk of St. Bertin by the MGH editor. All manuscripts have a common text up to the reign of Baldwin V (1067), suggesting that the lost archetype was composed in the middle of the 11th century, most probably at St Peter's Abbey, Ghent. This genealogy is the first text to present Liederik of Harelbeke, Ingelram and Audacer, later known as the so-called *Forestiers de Flandre*, as the legendary ancestors (and predecessors) of the Flemish counts.

All but one of the manuscripts date from the 12th century (Arras, BM, 685; Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 102; Brussels, KBR, 8675–89; Dijon, BM, 322; Douai, BM, 318; Douai, BM, 319; Leiden, UB, BPL 20; Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 98; London, BL, Cotton Fragments, vol. 1). Widely disseminated throughout Flanders, it was also known outside the county (Notre-Dame-du-Bec, Cîteaux) and a

translation in Low German occurs in some manuscripts of the → *Sächsische Weltchronik*. In Flanders itself, it formed the basis for the genealogy of → Lambert of St Omer, which in turn was used for the → *Flandria generosa*. This short text thus stands at the beginning of a historiographical tradition which extends well into the 16th century.

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GEORGES DECLERCQ

Genealogia Cristianitatis illustrium principum dominorum ducum Stettinensium

(Genealogy of the Christian tradition of the illustrious princes, the lords and dukes of Stettin)

mid-14th century. Poland. A chronicle of the dynasty of the dukes of West Pomerania to 1344 (1365). Written possibly in 1345 by an author connected with the cathedral at Kamień Pomorski, the text gives brief genealogies of the dukes of West Pomerania from Bogislaw I to the death of Otto I in 1344, highlighting their piety. A brief note by another hand records the death of Barnim IV in 1365. A main source is the → *Caminier Chronik*. Photocopies of a copy written in the 1460s have survived (Hamburg, SB & UB, cod. hist. 89).

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MAREK DERWICH

Genealogia dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis d'Aragó (Genealogy of the Counts of Barcelona and Kings of Aragon)

15th century. Catalonia (Iberia). A short chronicle, in Latin (*Genealogia comitum Barcinone ad antiquissimus libris monasterii Rivipulli abstracta*) and Catalan (*Genealogia dels comtes de Barcelona e dels reys de Aragó e de Navarra*) versions, probably written at the monastery of Ripoll (Catalonia) in the first third of the 15th century. It is preserved in two copies of the 17th century: Madrid, BNE, ms. 1609, copied in 1600 by Jaume Ramon Vila; and Madrid, BNE, ms. 2013, copied in 1632 by Didac Montfar Sorts and illuminated with miniatures. The text runs from the reign of Basque King Eneko Arista / Íñigo Arista (ca 781–852) of Pamplona until King Joan I (d. 1395) of Catalonia and Aragon.

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DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Genealogia Wettinensis

1216/7. Germany. Anonymous Latin prose chronicle, concentrating on the genealogy and history of the counts of Wettin, margraves of Meissen from 976 to ca 1215.

This little chronicle is usually coupled with the → *Chronica Montis Sereni*. Probably written by an Augustinian canon of St. Peter's at the Lauterberg near Halle (Saale), the work outlines the history of the counts of Wettin and fits their ancestors into the historical and local context of the region. It deals with the noble families of the founders of the canonry on the Lauterberg, Dedo (d. 1124) and Konrad the Great (d. 1156), drawing the line to Konrad's grandson Friedrich II of Brehna (d. 1221).

The commissioner of the chronicle is unknown. It may have been Friedrich, if the *Genealogia* is indeed an expression of the dynastic claim by the Wettin family. Friedrich was especially interested in his prospective agnatic claim on the fiefdoms Meißen and the Eastern Mark, at that time in the possession of his cousin Dietrich (d. 1221), who had no legitimate son. However it is also possible

that the canons of the Lauterberg initiated the text themselves to support their struggle for re-estimation as custodians of the Wettin history as well as of their house as the religious centre of the house of Wettin.

The *Genealogia* survives in four manuscripts; the best and oldest is Halle, UB & LB, ThSGV 3147 (dated 1492).

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BRIGITTE PFEIL

Genealogiae ducum Brabantiae

ca 1139?, 1268–71. Low Countries. Three anonymous genealogies relating the history of the Brabantine ducal dynasty.

Both the *Genealogia Karoli Magni* and the *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae ampliata* begin with the legendary French king Priamus and end in the first years of the reign of John I, duke of Lower-Lotharingia Brabant. The *Genealogia ducum Brabantiae metrica* (which is written in verse) begins with Carloman, the father of Pippin the Elder, and ends with the life of Geoffrey I, count of Leuven and duke of Lower Lotharingia (first version) or shortly after the marriage of John I in 1271. All three genealogies emphasize the Carolingian descent of the Brabantine dukes to underline their status as descendants of saints, kings and emperors.

Until recently these genealogies were all dated between 1268 and 1271, but SLEIDERINK has suggested that an earlier version of the *Genealogia... metrica* was written shortly after the death of Geoffrey I in 1139. It is not clear where these genealogies were written. Both the abbey of Affligem (where Geoffrey I was buried) and the abbey of St. Gertrude in the town of Nivelles are seen as the potential historiographical centre. The counts of Leuven were buried in the abbey of St. Gertrude,

as were Pippin the Elder (d. 640) and Saint Gertrude of Nivelles (d. 653 or 659), who were seen as important ancestors of the Brabantine dynasty.

The *Genealogiae* have survived in various manuscripts: Brussels, KBR, 10953; Paris, BnF, lat. 6222, fol. 1–12; Paris, BnF, lat. 14194, fol. 213–223; Vienna, ÖNB, 3445; Liège, UB, ms. 77.

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SJOERD BIJKER

Genealogical Chronicles in Anglo-Norman

13th–15th century. England. Anonymous Anglo-Norman genealogical rolls of the kings of England flourished from the late 13th to the early 15th century, mainly during the reigns of Edward I (1272–1307) and Edward II (1307–1327): 29 manuscripts have survived, 25 of which were written before 1330. Most were translated from similar Latin genealogies (such as London, BL, add. ms. 30079), which themselves were derived from several genealogical diagrams with commentary written in the 1250s by → Matthew Paris at St Albans and added to his *Chronica Majora* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 16 and 26) and to his *Abbreviatio Chronicorum Angliae* (BL, Cotton Claudius ms. D.vi).

Undoubtedly inspired by the design of the successful late-12th-century *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* by → Peter of Poitiers to help students in theology memorize biblical history, these rolls offer a condensation of English history, usually from Egbert (802–39) to Henry III (1216–72). Eight begin with the mythical Brutus, and in these the history prior to Egbert was a

later addition derived from the Anglo-Norman → *Prose Brut*. Intended first for a new lay audience with limited literacy, these useful *aide mémoires* of English history, although based directly upon the Anglo-Norman *Brut*, ultimately derived their information, through Matthew Paris, from the best 12th-century Latin chroniclers: → William of Malmesbury, → Henry of Huntingdon, and → Ralph of Diceto.

Almost half of the manuscripts were illustrated, sometimes with great care (BL, Royal ms. 14 B.v and Royal ms. 14 B.vi; Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Broxbourne 112.3; Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, ms. typ. 11; and the Chaworth Roll: London, private collection, formerly Oslo and London, Schøyen collection, 250) and some were given by their later owners continuations of various lengths (unrelated to other known texts) written on supplementary membranes (BL, Cotton Rolls ms. xiii 17 and xv 7; Cambridge, UL, Dd.3.58). These short guides attempted to give continuity to English history by emphasising the link between the Plantagenets and the former Anglo-Saxon rulers, as → Aelred of Rievaulx had done in his *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*. They helped shape the perception of the past and strengthen national identity until the mid-14th century, after which they went out of fashion and had little influence on subsequent historiography. One 14th-century roll from the Anglo-Saxon king Ethelbert (Egbert) to Richard II was recently donated to the University of California at Los Angeles (University Research Library, Rouse 53). There is only one, much abridged, early 15th-century translation into Middle English (BL, add. ms. 29502) (s.v. → Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin).

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OLIVIER DE LABORDERIE

Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin

15th century. England. Genealogies were often incorporated into chronicles to celebrate the history of aristocratic families. As BLOCH observes, they gave the family a mythical past, associated them with "land and castle", and demonstrated the importance of the family name and the legitimacy of royal lines. In England they can be found from the time of → Bede, but as FREEMAN points out, they became especially popular with the arrival of the Normans who apparently believed that their kings needed propaganda (see → Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia regum Anglorum*). Although genealogical chronicles could be written as narratives, those popular in the 15th century presented history by means of graphic layout, through genealogical trees and portraits of historical figures accompanied by short narratives. Vertical lines of descent link names enclosed in circles with lateral lines on both sides of the main descent, indicating family connections. The text of these chronicles is presented as brief biographical sketches alongside the lines of descent and portraits. The manuscripts could be codices or they could be produced as rolls for ease of display or, as DE LA MARE observes, as rolls that could be folded up "concertina fashion" to form a book. The biographical sketches distinguish them from the simple pedigrees discussed by ANGLO in his study of the use of British history in Tudor propaganda, which present names without text.

Some of these chronicles were intended to teach world history. An English translation, never edited, of → Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* is extant in four incomplete 15th-century rolls: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 53; BL, add. ms. 20010; BL, add. ms. 30509; and Tokyo, Takamiya 36. It consists of a short abridgement of world and sacred history in the form of a genealogical tree of Christ. Similarly, *The Table of the World* (one extant manuscript, owned by G.L. Alexanderson, Santa Clara, CA) is a genealogical chronicle of universal and English history from Creation to Edward IV's

death. Its sources include Livy, → Martin of Opava and → Jacob of Voragine, and it is probably related to → Honorius Augustodunensis' *De imagine mundi*. Such chronicles attest to an interest in the teaching of history by means of a graphic layout, which is thought to be → Peter of Poitiers's teaching innovation.

The *Genealogical Chronicle of the Kings of England* was produced as Yorkist propaganda for Edward IV. There are versions of it in both Latin and English. Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium* up to the ascension of Christ is interpolated into the beginning of the long Latin and English versions. The Latin versions survive in seven manuscripts, with the seventh, a copy of BL, Lansdowne 456 and formerly in a private collection, offered for sale at Sotheby's, July 10, 2010 (Lot 24). These two manuscripts represent the earliest version of Edward's genealogical chronicle and were written ca 1461. (KENNEDY is indebted to Lisa RUCH for this late-breaking news.) The longer English one survives in six manuscripts; the shorter in five. Some can be dated accurately since a new one was produced each time Edward had a child. These chronicles include pictorial representations of Edward IV with his triple crown of Britain, France, and Spain. All of the English and Latin versions were probably indebted to the Latin genealogical chronicle that → Roger of St Albans produced for Henry VI. The long version shows Edward's descent from the Mortimers and the Welsh line, through Ralph Mortimer's marriage to Gwladys Duy, daughter of Llywelyn the Great. DE LA MARE and SCOTT list manuscripts, but they categorize them differently, and SCOTT does not discuss ones without illustrations.

Pickering's Chronicle, written ca 1485, combines a universal chronicle from Adam to the Battle of St. Albans (1454) with genealogies of the kings of England to 1485 and of the Percy family to 1454. The genealogy of the Percies is an English translation of a Latin genealogy attributed to the genealogist Thomas Pickering, abbot of Whitby (1462–1475). This combination of genealogies attests to an increase in national sentiment among noble families who wanted to display their descent alongside that of the English kings. It survives in one manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Rolls 5. That the manuscript is illustrated with drawings of towns such as London, Edinburgh, and Colchester suggests an interest in maps as well as history. The early part of the chronicle covering universal history is translated from → Higden's

Polychronicon, but is different from other surviving translations.

Similarly in the mid-15th century the Sudeley and Boteler families of Sudeley castle had a roll chronicle made (probably at Bury St. Edmunds) which presents the history of England in Latin prose and English verse as a royal genealogical tree from Edward the Confessor to Henry VI. This chronicle (now New York, PL, ms. 193) includes a pedigree (with heraldic shields) of the Sudeleys and Botelers.

Other genealogical chronicles written in English include two rolls from the early 15th century (BL add. ms. 29502 and 29503); a verse Yorkist chronicle (15th-century roll) owned by the Finch-Knightley family of Packington Hall; an early 16th-century verse chronicle of the house of Percy (Alnwick Castle, ms. 79); and the late 15th-century *Cronicles betwene England and Scotland sithen the commyng of Brute*. The latter survives in BL, Lansdowne Roll ms. 4 and in another previously unlisted manuscript, noted by LISA RUCH and entitled *A Breve Cronnacle frome brute to kyng henry the sixte of yngland and scotland*, which was offered at the Sotheby's sale of Western manuscripts, 8 December 2009, Lot 43. This chronicle, the verse Yorkist chronicle, and the Percy family chronicle are the only English genealogical chronicles that have so far been edited.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY
RALUCA RADULESCU

Genealogical Chronicles in French and Latin

11th–15th century. France. Most medieval chronicles narrating the history of France, such as the 13th-century → *Grandes Chroniques de France*, used a genealogical structure, organising their material around the reigns of individual kings who appeared in the context of a continuous dynasty. SPIEGEL postulated that genealogy was a "perceptual grid" through which chroniclers examined the past. Thus one could argue that most histories of France are "genealogical chronicles". However, some of them boast an additional feature that accentuates their role as genealogies: genealogical diagrams. These can be defined as any arrangement of genealogical information not in straight text form. Some are in columns and tables; most are circle-and-line figures forming genealogical "trees" (KLAPISCH-ZUBER). These visual devices can convey concepts of bloodline and succession more effectively than words (MELVILLE) and often contain direct or indirect messages about the author's view on the legitimacy of a given ruler or dynasty.

In some cases, the diagrams appear before or after a text and can be considered a complementary, but discrete, entity; in others, they are embedded in the text and are an essential component of the work as a whole. The *Annals* by the monks of Saint-Aubin of Angers (Paris, BnF, lat. 4955, ca. 1160–80), contain crude genealogical diagrams with pedigrees of the counts of Anjou and of the kings of France; the pages on the latter contain brief bibliographical notes including negative statements about some kings. Around 1200, another genealogical tree was appended to a historical text: the poem *Karolinus* by Gilles de Paris (BnF, lat. 6191) had colour coding to indicate each individual's status and even value judgments on good kings (BROWN 1982, COLKER, LEWIS). A contemporary development was the *Compendium* by → Peter of Poitiers, summaris-

ing biblical history in circle and line diagrams surrounded by brief paragraphs of text.

Some manuscripts are in roll format, particularly well suited to displaying lines of succession. This inspired Anglo-Norman genealogical rolls of the kings of England (see → Genealogical Chronicles in Anglo-Norman), as well as the universal chronicle of → Iohannes de Utino in the mid-14th century (e.g. roll BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2577). Universal chronicles went beyond the *Compendium* to add non-biblical events and eventually included popes, emperors, and kings of France and England. The early 15th-century → *Chronique Anonyme Universelle à la mort de Charles VII* was such an expanded universal chronicle; it proved particularly popular later in the century as a large roll. The section on the kings of France consisted of → *A tous nobles*, which also appeared within other universal chronicles or on its own, in numerous versions and copies (both codices and rolls), confirming the appeal of the combination of text and diagram. Other instances of narrative with genealogical diagrams did not have the same degree of success. → Girardus de Arvernia abridged his own universal chronicle, the *Historia figuralis*, written before 1272, into an *Abbreuatio figuralis* (BnF, lat. 4910). Here, a circle and line diagram of popes and kings of France framed each paragraph, which was articulated around each abbot of Cluny from its foundation. The only other 13th-century chronicler to experiment with diagrams was → Guillaume de Nangis, who made a rough genealogical sketch in the margin of the Latin translation of his *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* (BnF, lat. 6184).

In the 14th century, → Yves of St. Denis produced *Vie et miracles de saint Denis* (ca 1317) in Latin with a parallel French translation. The third section (surviving in BnF, lat. 13836 and lat. 5286) recorded the saint's miracles relating to kings of France, with historical narrative. To stress the unbroken bloodline between the three royal dynasties propounded by Saint-Denis historiography, Yves added marginal diagrams at strategic points (illustrated in BEAUNE and HEDEMAN; textual extracts in BROWN 1990). Meanwhile, the Dominican scholar → Bernard Gui produced an *Arbor genealogie* in five editions between 1313 and 1331, an abridgment of his *Reges francorum* accompanied by a genealogical tree, complete with foliage effect, on each page. Gui's opinion of the legitimacy of each king was indicated in the tree by comment and visual symbol (LAMARRIGUE).

Gui's trees were read from top to bottom, like the text, which meant that the younger generations were illogically drawn near the root of the tree. In 1460 Jean Miélot attempted to restore a logical connection between a tree's roots and the ancestors of a lineage: he translated the chronicle of Iohannes de Utino and copied it into a codex (BnF, fr. 17001), and, following the example of → Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, drew his trees upside down with their roots in the air.

Other genealogical diagrams appear as an *aide mémoire* before or after texts concerning kings of France. Several copies of the → *Récit d'un ménestrel d'Alphonse de Poitiers* (written before 1271) have diagrams in the form of tables of medallions (examples in BnF, fr. 4961, fr. 5700 and fr. 13565, BL, Cotton Vespasian ms. A vi). A manuscript of the 1460s (BnF, fr. 5038) of polemical works such as *Audite celi* (1431) by Jean → Juvénal des Ursins, has a tree showing the kings of France and England, rival claimants to the French throne. A copy of the *Formulary of Odart Morchesne* (1427) has diagrammatic tables of French kings and a tree with kings of England and France alongside a text about their succession dispute (BnF, fr. 14371).

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MARIGOLD ANNE NORBYE

Genealogical rolls and charts

1. Genealogical diagrams; 2. Matthew Paris;
3. Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Rolls;
4. Fifteenth-Century Rolls and Charts

1. Genealogical diagrams

Although rare and apparently isolated examples diagramming both actual historical families and that of Christ exist before the thirteenth century, the twelfth-century chronicle of → Peter of Poitiers provided the basis for genealogical charts in an ongoing tradition that would last throughout the Middle Ages. Peter's genealogies were first associated with Paris, where he was Chancellor of the University 1193–1205, and the earliest extant English example is Cleveland, Museum of Art, CMA 73.5, ca1220 (MORGAN 43c). Other early English genealogies are Cambridge, Corpus Christi, ms. 83; London, BL, Cotton Faustina B VII; and Liverpool, Merseyside County Museum, ms. Mayer 12017 (MORGAN 43a, 43b, 79). These genealogies took the form of a roll, a portable document of considerable physical length, usually professionally executed and illuminated. The roll was headed by a painted roundel illustrating the Creation or the Temptation (BL, Cotton Faustina B VII features the fall of the rebel angels) and ended with Christ's Nativity. These illustrations were connected by a diagram tracing the descent of Christ from his Old Testament ancestors and followed by the succession of popes, emperors and kings. Each lineage is traced in its own unbroken, vertical line, punctuated by small roundels functioning as historical "signposts".

2. Matthew Paris

Peter of Poitiers' genealogical schema was quickly adapted by English historians. Genealogical charts of the kings of England, probably intended to facilitate the reader's task, were among

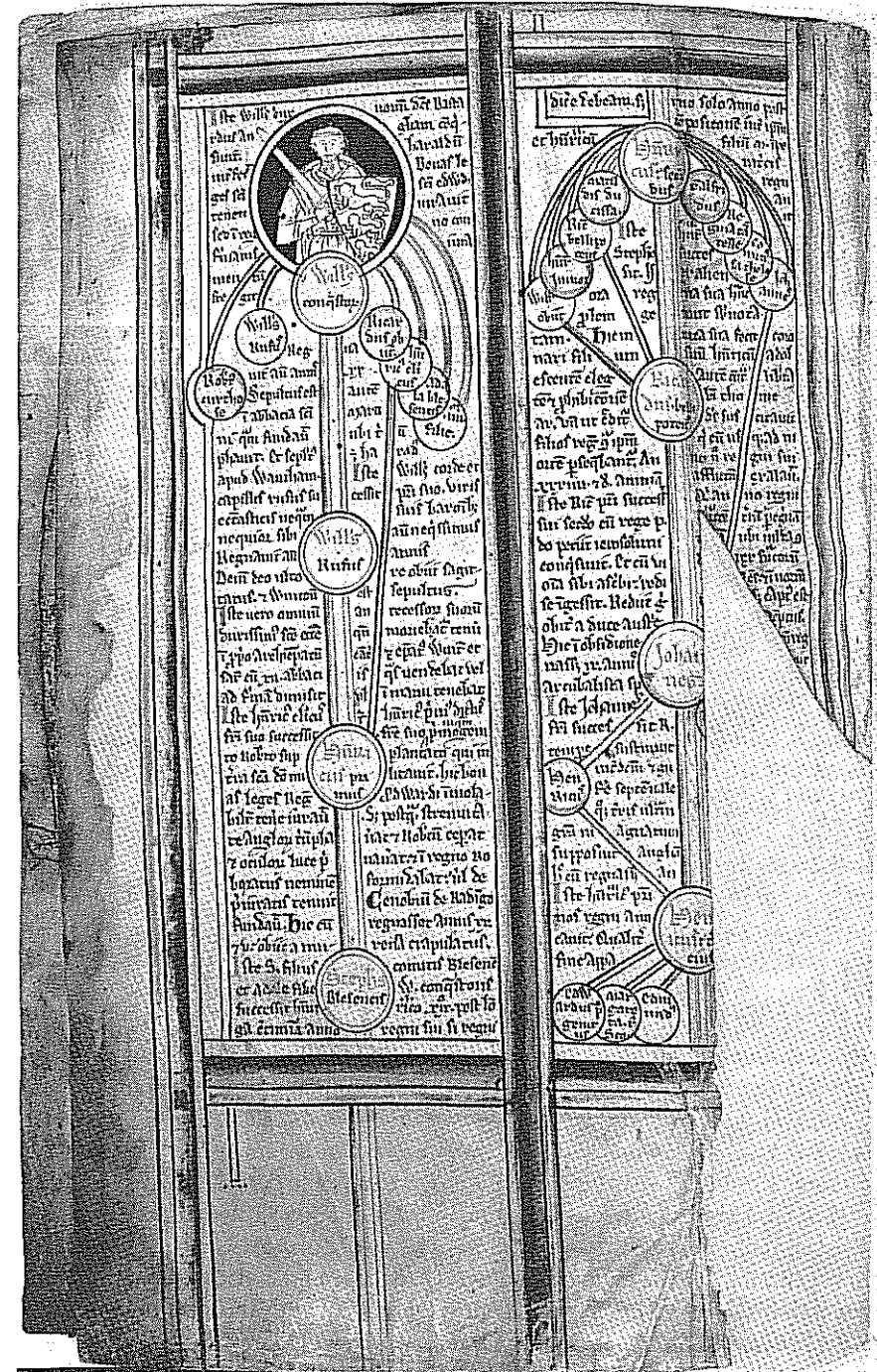


Fig. 24 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, vol. 2. Genealogy of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to Henry III. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 16, fol. v^r (formerly iii^r). Photo by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker Library.

the prefatory materials → Matthew Paris inserted into all three volumes of his *Chronica majora* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, mss. 26 and 16; London, BL, Royal 14.C.vii: MORGAN 88, 92) as well as the *Abbreuatio chronicorum* (BL, Cotton Claudius D.VI: MORGAN 93) [Fig. 24]. Whereas the third volume of the *Chronica majora* offers this material in an alternate form, the two-page diagram in Corpus Christi 16 is representative of those in the other two books. Each page is structured in two columns with the kings depicted in roundels connected by lines on the vertical axis in each column. Most of the kings are indicated by name only, although Alfred and William the Conqueror, who appear at the top of the left column on the two pages (fols. v and v^v), are figured in line drawings on coloured backgrounds to indicate their importance and a line drawing of Cnut in bust-length tops his roundel, filling the gap that clearly indicates a break in the bloodline. Smaller medallions with the names of each king's sons appear to the sides and slightly below that of the father to which they are connected by lines.

The other manuscripts convey the same material with variations. In Corpus Christi 26 (fol. iv^v) and the *Abbreuatio* (fol. 10^v), the genealogy starts with a bust-length image of Alfred associated with a diagram of the Heptarchy; his successors are indicated by name only. All these charts are drawn in coloured lines, and explanatory texts have been squeezed into the available spaces; in a clear meshing of family genealogy with succession in office, almost every king is portrayed twice, once as his father's son and again as king in a larger roundel on axis. The two roundels are connected by a line, which in cases like that of Aedred, who came to the throne after two of his brothers had ruled, may run past several kings' medallions and even into the next column. The overall visual impression is one of unity, an underlying national metanarrative conveyed visually (what STAHLJAK terms "the dream of genealogy"). The main chronological lines are *unbroken* ties of office, which subsume dynastic breaks and discrepancies, whilst at the same time openly displaying them.

3. Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Rolls

Chroniclers quickly discovered that the roll form would allow for a more continuous reading, for expanding the accompanying text, and for

extension after the original campaign of manufacture. A group of some thirty rolls is preserved from the last years of the reign of Henry III (1216–72) and especially the reign of his son Edward I (1272–1307), their popularity continuing to 1340. This may reflect fashion, as well as a response to nationalistic royal policies and political instability. Although executed in a variety of forms—illustrated and unillustrated, simple line drawings or using colour and gold leaf, with the text in Latin or in French—these rolls are fairly consistent in both diagrammatic and textual content. Their connection to Matthew's model is indicated by the round diagram of the Heptarchy that opens a number of rolls and by the double entry of kings. Some of the documents contain clues to their more specific use. Peculiarities on London, BL, Add. 24026 and 29504 suggest the use of these documents in claims of the English kings to the Scottish crown.

An exceptionally large and fine roll (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Rolls 3: SANDLER 16a) suggests royal patronage or use. It portrays, in five distinct sections, a pictorial narrative of the founding of Britain, enthroned kings from Brutus to Cadwallader in roundels, a diagram of the Heptarchy, albeit in different form from Matthew's, additional roundels with enthroned kings from Aethelwulf to Edward I and a genealogical tree (now London, BL, Cotton Charter XIV.4: SANDLER 16b). This tree takes a different form from that on the earlier rolls and also includes a lineage of the Scottish kings.

That the roll was preserved at York, the location of Edward's court during the Scottish wars, again suggests the use of these objects in this context. The wave of interest in these genealogies in the early decades of the fourteenth century indicates a response to both Edward I's policies and political instability in the reign of Edward II. A secular, lay audience is evidenced by Anglo-Norman language and courtly texts on the dorse of some rolls, frequently the location for supplementary—sometimes potentially disruptive—material, for example a Merlin prophecy on the dorse of the relatively early Princeton, UL, ms. 57. Such prophecies demand audience collusion in the creation of meaning for the main text, and thus invite 'alternative' readings.

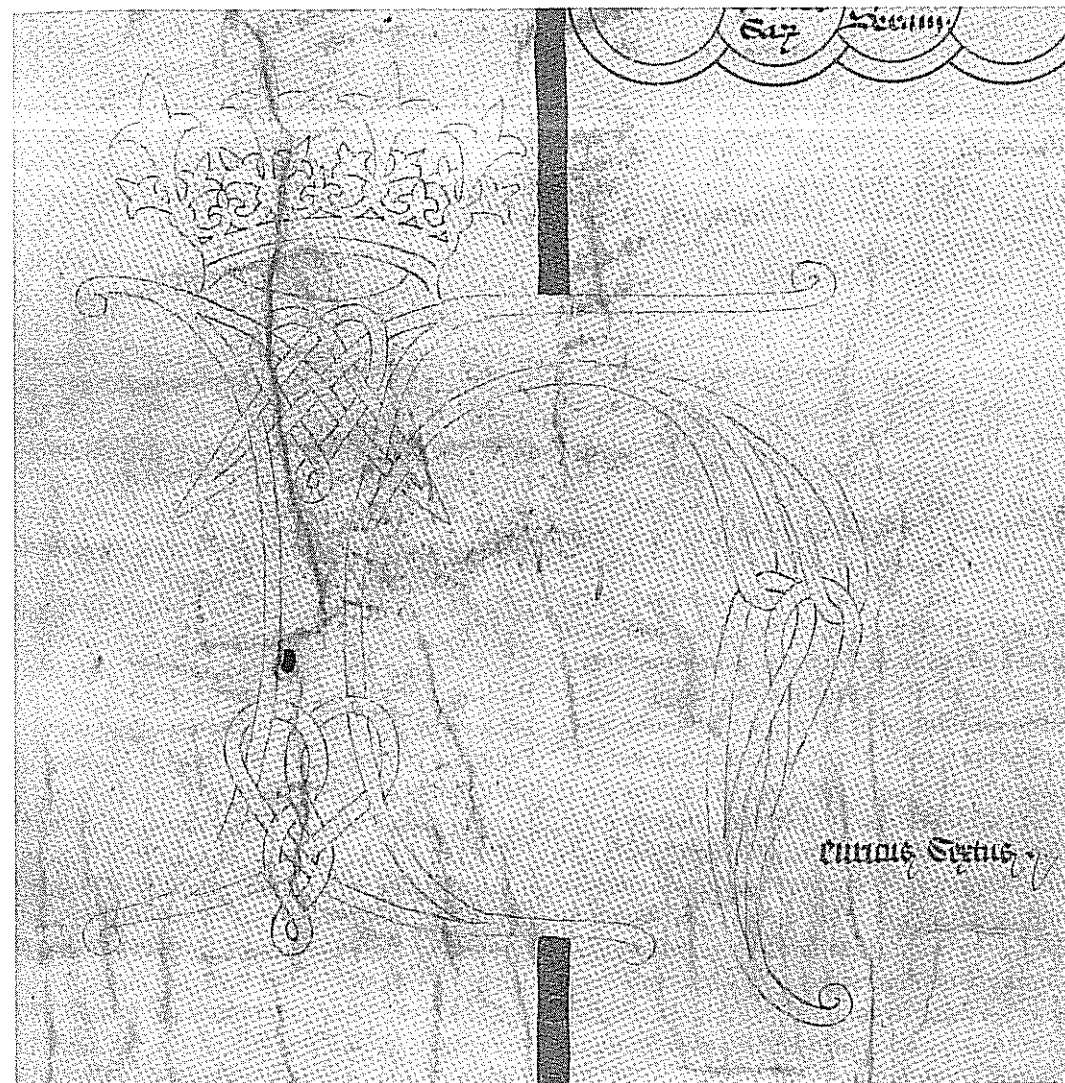


Fig. 25 Genealogy of Henry VI. A crowned penwork crowned 'h', represents henricus sextus as the most significant point on the document. London, British Library, Add. ms. 18002. © The British Library Board.

4. Fifteenth-Century Rolls and Charts

A growing market for genealogies after the death of Henry V in 1422 was fuelled by the government's dynastic propaganda, a response to anxiety over the succession of the infant Henry VI. Some creative adaptation was required by the need to reinforce Henry's status as 'dual monarch' of France and England. The resulting "lozenge" genealogy demonstrated Henry's descent from Edward I and St. Louis, through his English father and his French mother respectively. At Henry's entry into London in 1432 this genealogy was displayed utilising real trees along the route

A shorter adaptation of Peter of Poitiers (usually known as *Considerans* genealogies, from their *incipit*), with fewer biblical illustrations, formed the basis of organised genealogy production. The universal message was important, but subordinate to the dynastic information in the latter part of the document, which illustrated not only the familial but also the prophetic descent of Henry from Brutus, Cadwallader and the kings of Britain, Alfred, Edgar and the Anglo-Saxon "English" royal line, and the ancient line of French kings through St. Louis. In these versions the central, English regal line of descent, acts visually as a "spine" for the whole, and is often visually thicker (made with the flat of the pen nib) than the other vertical lines, with Henry as the meeting-point of three dynasties.

KATHLEEN SCOTT has identified four groups of manuscripts for the years 1450–80, with scribes and illustrators collaborating on production within each group. The scribes were London-based, but some illustrators were provincial, indicating that unfinished genealogies may have been distributed from London for illustration, or scribes may have been peripatetic. One of the illustrators of London, Society of Antiquaries, ms. 501 (SCOTT 95) was William Abell, a London "lymnour" who worked from the 1440s to 1474. Abell also executed the fine pen-drawn crowned 'h' at the end of BL, Add. 18002. In Society of Antiquaries ms. 501, the scribe-artist has replaced the lines of descent with tree branches [Fig. 25].

The deposition of Henry VI by Edward IV in 1461 did not occasion a change in the form of *Considerans* genealogies, to which roundels were simply added. At the top of Philadelphia, Free

Library, ms. European 201 (SCOTT 95) the generic biblical illustration is replaced by an equestrian "seal" image of Edward himself, with three vertical lines of descent from the kings of Britain, England and Castile. Prophetic texts (rather than chronicle extracts) are 'squeezed between the lines, which are united in the person of Edward. London, BL, Add. 18286 presents three lines of descent as bi-coloured bars with integral roundels, with prophetic titles in red on either side of the bar. At the base, Edward, accompanied by *his* prophetic titles, unites the three lines. London, BL, Harley 7353 is a typological "life" of Edward IV, with a genealogy in the form of a Jesse Tree below. Two royal stems arise from the recumbent Pedro of Castile and Henry III. The branches are inhabited by family members, painted in a naturalistic style, identifying themselves with speech banderolles or cartouches. At the centre of the image, Henry IV lops off Richard II's branch with his sword. As the *Considerans* genealogies stressed unity, the propagandistic need to stress *disunity* required creative manipulation of the genre.

See also → Diagrammatic chronicles, → Genealogical Chronicles in Anglo-Norman, → Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin, → Genealogical Chronicles in French and Latin, → Rodoslovi.

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LESLEY COOTE
JOAN A. HOLLADAY

Genealogie van Godfried met den Baert

early 14th century. Brabant (Belgium). An anonymous Dutch-language verse chronicle of the Brabantine dynasty and the Brabantine territory, the two halves of which are transmitted separately and have only recently been identified as a single work by SLEIDERINK.

The first half contains a dedication to John III, duke of Brabant (1300–55). It begins with Noah and the Flood and includes the legendary history of Silvius Brabon and the foundation of Brabant and several (Brabantine) towns, but breaks off with the life of Carloman in the 12th century. This section is transmitted in Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, B 15828, fol. 1^r–6^v.

The second half, the text which before SLEIDERINK's insight was alone known as *Godfried met den Baert*, tells how Geoffrey I, count of Leuven, became the first duke of Lower-Lotharingia (later Brabant). This part survives in Leiden, UB, B.P.L. 2894.

Abridged versions of this text are incorporated in Hennen van → Merchteren's *Cornicke van Brabant* and (in Latin translation) in → Petrus de Thimo's *Historia Brabantiae diplomatica*.

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SJOERD BIJKER

Genealogies de Roda

ca 980–990. Catalonia (Iberia). Latin genealogies of the first kings of Navarre (9th and 10th century) and the counts of Aragon, Pallars and Ribagorça (Catalonia), Gascony and Tou-

louse. The text concludes with a chronology of the French kings, from Charlemagne to Lothair (768–986).

Probably written in Nájera (La Rioja) at the end of the 10th century (at that time Nájera belonged to the Kingdom of Navarre), the text is very important for the study of the early dynasties of Navarre. Known as the "Roda" genealogies because they are found in a codex (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 7-B) coming from the cathedral of Roda (Aragon), which later belonged to Manuel de Abbad y Lasierra, prior of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria de Meià (in Urgell, Catalonia); hence also known as *Genealogies of Meià*.

The codex of Roda, which also contains → Orosius' *Historiarum adversum paganos* and other chronicles, was copied repeatedly in the 18th century. Two other manuscripts, of diverse origin, also contain these genealogies: one 13th century, from the collegiate church of San Isidoro in Leon (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, A-189), and the other of the 15th century, that belonged to Luis Salazar y Castro (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, G-1).

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DAVID GARRIDO VALLS

Genealogy of the Earls of Brecknock

mid-13th century. Wales. Brief Anglo-Norman account of the lives of the lords of Brecknock (i.e. Brecon) from the late 11th century to 1232.

It begins with a translation into Anglo-Norman from → Gerald of Wales's *Itinerarium Cambriae* about the catastrophic consequences stemming from the adultery of the wife of the first lord, Bernard de Neufmarché. It is preserved in one manuscript (London, BL, Cotton Julius D.x), which also contains the Latin → *Chronicles of Lanthony Priory* with some overlapping material. William Dugdale printed both texts for the first time in *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655–73), under the headings *Priory of Brecon* and *Abbey of Lanthony*. Also see → Genealogical Chronicles in Anglo-Norman.

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JOHN SPENCE

General estoria (General History)

ca 1270–84. Castile (Iberia). A universal history in Castilian, commissioned by → Alfonso X of Castile and León, who is introduced as author. In fact it was written for him by an anonymous team of scholars. Written in prose, it covers world history from its remote origins to the times of the Roman emperor Augustus. Although it is divided into six parts, only five were finished, each running to about 300 folios. A draft exists with the very beginning of the sixth. The *General Estoria* follows the Augustinian model of time distributed in six *aetates* (see → Six Ages of the World). Although the beginning of the sixth part almost coincides with the sixth *aetas* starting with Christ, there is no straightforward correspondence between parts and *aetates*; thus, the fourth and fifth parts hold the fourth *aetas*. The structure follows the *translatio imperii* from the Hebrews to the Romans, passing through the Persian and Greek empires. Within the text, narrative precedence is given to whichever people controls the imperium at the time. Thus Hebrew history takes centre stage until the Hebrews lose their *imperium* to the Persians at the end of the third part and fourth *aetas*. From this point, Persian, Mace-

donian, Alexandrian, and Roman history take precedence over Hebrew history.

Hebrew history is based on the Vulgate supplemented mainly by → Josephus, → Peter Comestor and → Gottfried of Viterbo. A large number of other sources were used for the history of the rest of the world. The annalistic pattern was provided by → Eusebius' *Chronici Canones*, continued by → Jerome, which was crucial to establishing the chronology of gentile history. Eusebius' brief account was supplemented by narrative from Ovid's *Methamorphoses* and *Heroides*, the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à Cesar*, → Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, → Wasif-Sah's *History of Egypt*, Justin's *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus 'Historiae Philippicae*, the *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni*, → Eutropius' *Breviarium* continued by → Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana*, → Jiménez de Rada's *Historiae*, → Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi*, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and → Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos*. Other non-historical sources were extensively used for encyclopaedic purposes: Pliny's *Natural History*, → Isidore's *Etymologiae*, al-Bakri's *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik*, or Hugutius Pisanus' *Liber derivationis*, among others.

The work probably aimed to locate Alfonso and his realm at the end of the chain of Roman emperors and Christian rulers of the world, for until 1275 he was a candidate to become Roman emperor. But that was not the only purpose, since the compilation continued till the end of his reign, as is proved by the existence of an original manuscript of the fourth part dated in 1280. The encyclopaedic didacticism of the 13th century and Alfonso's insatiable search for knowledge account for this. The composition began simultaneously with that of the → *Estoria de Espanna*, ca 1270, and the two works were parallel projects, for they share sources, translations of these, and even compilations of material until the second part of the universal history. Of the forty-one manuscripts, two come from the royal *scriptorium* (Madrid, BNE, ms. 816 and Vatican, BAV, urb. lat. 539). Most have only one part, or even less. The text of the third and fifth parts is only partially known, due to gaps in the manuscripts. Three of the manuscripts derive from a previous version, slightly different to the one transcribed in the *scriptorium*. The *General estoria* was translated into Galician in the 14th century and into Portuguese around 1400, as a few surviving frag-

ments prove. It had remarkable influence on 15th century Spanish literature because of its extensive accounts of classical themes.

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INÉS FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ

Genesisios, Ioseph

11th century. Byzantium. Genesisios (Genesisius) is the conventional pseudonym of the author of a historical work dated by modern scholars to the 11th century and describing in a generally chronological manner the events starting with the reign of Leo V the Armenian (813) until the beginning of the reign of Basileios I (867) in four books bearing the Greek title *Περὶ Βασιλειῶν*. Each book deals with the reign of one Byzantine Emperor. The real name of the author has apparently been scratched off the headline of the text in the Leipzig manuscript, and a writer of the 14th century added the name Genesisius at the end of the text (fol. 284), inspired by a reference of Ioannes → Skylitzes to a Ioseph Genesisios as one of the 10th-century historians whom Ioannes himself rejected.

Attempts to glean autobiographical material on the author from the work are mostly tentative. F. HIRSCH suggests he was the son of Constantine the Armenian, but that has been dismissed by C. DE BOOR for purely chronological reasons. DE BOOR in turn moots that Ioseph was the grandson of Constantine, but this has likewise not met with general acceptance. According to other scholars, Ioseph is related to saint Dorotheus the Younger, who, according to the encomium written for him by Ioannes Mauropous, lived in the Theme of Armeniakon in the second half of the 10th century until the early 11th century. What is certain is that he belonged to the circle of historians that served Emperor → Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennitos and that he wrote the history under

Imperial orders quite possibly between the years of 945 and 959.

Another contentious issue is the relationship of the history of Ioseph Genesisios with the chronological work of → Theophanes Continuatus, which the author obviously tried to continue. Comparisons of the two works yield a number of similarities in expression and also in the arrangement of the historical material. According to some scholars, they may have had a common source in a certain *Chronikon* of the 9th century, while according to others, this common source may have been certain chronographical texts from the entourage of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, one of the excerpts possibly being a rough arrangement of the *Βίος τοῦ Βασιλείου* written by one of Constantine's scholars.

The Greek used in Genesisios' work is influenced by the classicist trends of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. The text deals mostly with political and ecclesiastical matters of secondary importance and does not shed a critical gaze nor does it comment on the period under discussion.

Only one manuscript of the text is known: Leipzig, UB, cod. gr. 16, 4, fol. 248–285^v (12th century).

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CHRISTOS STAVRAKOS

Gennadius of Marseille

d. ca 496. Gaul (France). Presbyter of Marseille. Author of several ecclesiastical treatises in Latin, many no longer extant. Gennadius' chief surviving work, *De viris illustribus* (On famous men), was written in Latin, perhaps in stages beginning ca 480. It is an expansion and continuation of → Jerome's work by the same name and maintains its basic model and purpose. Containing approximately a hundred entries (some of questionable

attribution), it treats in rough chronological order the lives and works of Christian authors, east and west, who wrote during the fourth and fifth century. Though sparser in biographical details than Jerome's catalogue, it provides a more thorough analysis of the contents of each author's writings. It also includes more authors whose principal language was Syriac. As early as the sixth century both Jerome's and Gennadius' works circulated together, serving as the basis for the later continuations of → Isidore of Seville (ca 610) and → Ildelfons of Toledo (ca 660). Over one hundred manuscripts contain Gennadius' *De viris illustribus*, almost always appended to Jerome's original. The earliest of these (Vatican, BAV, reg. lat. 2077 and Paris, BnF, lat. 12161) date to the seventh century.

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JONATHAN ARNOLD

Geoffrey le Baker

[Walter of Swinbroke]

fl. 1350. England. Secular clerk from Swinbrook, Oxfordshire, sometimes known as Walter of Swinbroke. Author of two Latin prose chronicles, the *Chroniculum* and the *Chronicon Angliae temporibus Edvardi II. et Edvardi III.* The first of these consists of short annals (11 folios) from Creation to 1336, written in 1347 at the request of local knight, Sir Thomas de la More. The longer *Chronicon*, which covers English history 1303–56, appears alongside the *Chroniculum* in the one surviving complete manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 761) and includes passages addressed to Sir Thomas, making its attribution to Geoffrey most plausible. Like his major source up to 1341, Adam → Murimuth, Geoffrey's focus is military history, and he gives detailed accounts of battles against France and Scotland, compiled from newsletters, eyewitness reports and official documents. Following the poet Robert Baston, he blames defeat at Bannockburn in 1314 on English drunkenness the night before. Also notable

are descriptions of the battle of Crécy (1346) and of the Black Prince's campaigns in 1355–56. An enthusiastic supporter of Edward III's claim to France, Geoffrey notes Edward's hereditary rights from the outset of his reign, but claims that Edward left these in abeyance until 1337, when he was forced to act against Philip of Valois' tyrannous plan to become *iudex et imperator* (judge and emperor) of all England, France and Scotland. Indeed, Geoffrey largely reserves his vitriol for the rulers of France, rather than the French as a whole, including verses which mock Philip's cowardice in avoiding open battle, and accusing John of Valois of starving his wife to death. Geoffrey also offers an unusually sympathetic (and graphic) account of Edward II's deposition and murder in 1327, and describes the symptoms and spread of the Black Death throughout England in 1348. The other contents of the main manuscript, dated ca 1360, point to connections with the Bohun family, who also feature in the chronicle. The section on Edward III also survives in a second, late 14th-century manuscript (London, BL, Cotton Appendix ms. LII).

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ANDREA RUDDICK

Geoffrey of Coldingham

d. ca 1215. Scotland. Identified in 14th-century manuscripts of his chronicle as sacrist of the Benedictine priory of Coldingham, Scotland, a cell of Durham Cathedral priory. He wrote the *Liber de statu ecclesiae Dunelmensis* as the second continuation of → Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio Dunelmensis ecclesiae* (ends 1096). Geoffrey focussed on the bishops of Durham, beginning in 1152 with the accession of Hugh de Puiset. Occasionally Geoffrey reports events in the kingdom that affected the cathedral, such as the death of Richard I and accession of King John in 1199.

The earliest manuscript, Durham, Cathedral Library, ms. A IV 36, fols. 107–21 (early 13th century), ends with the coronation of John (1199); all other manuscripts but one end in 1213 with

the failed election of Bishop Morgan: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 100, item 1 (16th century) (lacks final ten chapters); BL, Cotton Claudius ms. D.iv, item 1 (15th century); BL, Cotton Titus ms. A.ii, fols. 68^r–85^v (early 14th century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud misc. 700 (SC 1579) (14th century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Holkham misc. 25 (13th century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Fairfax 6 (SC 3886), fols. 108–131 (1350–1400); York, Minster, ms. XVI.L12, fols. 165^v–182 (14th century).

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MICHAEL TWOMEY

Geoffrey of Collion

[Gaufridus de Collone]

d. ca 1295. France. Priest and Benedictine monk of St Pierre-le-Vif at Sens (Yonne, France), Geoffrey counted abbots and archbishops in his family. Author of two historical works. His *Libellus super reliquiis*, a handbook for visitors, describes the abbey's relics in the context of the history of the house, particularly the abbacy of his uncle, Geoffroy de Montigny. His universal chronicle from the birth of Christ to 1294 dwells largely on the history of the archbishops of Sens, using as sources the chronicle of → Odorannus of Sens, the → *Chronicon S. Petri Vivi*, → Martin of Opava and → Gottfried of Viterbo. Seven manuscripts survive, including Vatican, BAV, regin. lat. 455 & regin. lat. 480.

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RÉGIS RECH

Geoffrey of Monmouth

[Galfridus Monemutensis]

ca 1100–54/5. England. Wrote the *Historia regum Britanniae* (The History of the Kings of Britain) in Latin prose, one of the most influential books of medieval England. Covering the period from the Trojan founding of Britain to the death of Cadwallader, the last British king, in AD 689, it presents the first account of King Lear (Leir) and the first developed narrative about King Arthur. Geoffrey also wrote the *Prophetie Merlini* (Prophecies of Merlin), which he incorporated into the *Historia*, and the verse *Vita Merlini* (Life of Merlin). Although *Historia regum Britanniae* is the traditional title, REEVE and WRIGHT have recently argued in their edition that Geoffrey must have called the work *De gestis Britonum*.

Probably born at Monmouth, Geoffrey was perhaps of Breton descent since he presents the Bretons more positively than the Welsh. This, however, could be because England's Norman rulers thought more highly of the Bretons. Not much is known about his life. From ca 1129, he apparently spent about 23 years near Oxford. There he met Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, for whom, he says in the *Historia*, he interrupted his work on that book in order to give him a translation of the *Prophetie Merlini*. He may have been in London for the last four years of his life. He probably spent little time in Wales. In February 1151, he was ordained a priest at Westminster and about a week later at Lambeth was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph in north Wales. Because of warfare occurring there, he may never have visited his see before dying in late 1154 or 1155. The 16th-century Welsh Gwentian-Brut claimed that Geoffrey had been an archdeacon of St. Teilo's in Llandaff and had died there, but most scholars dismiss this, arguing that the *Gwentian-Brut's* purpose was to give the area prestige by associating famous people like Geoffrey with it.

Although Geoffrey claimed to be a historian, the *Historia* is not based upon fact; ECHARD suggests a new category, *historia fantastica*. It was supposedly a translation into Latin of a "very ancient book, written in the British [Welsh] language" that he received from Walter the Archdeacon, a source unavailable to his contemporaries → Henry of Huntingdon and → William of Malmesbury, who should, he said, therefore restrict their work to the Saxons. Most now believe that the ancient

book never existed and that Geoffrey's sources included → *Historia Brittonum*, → Bede, → Gildas, Virgil's *Aeneid*, saints' legends, the Bible, oral tales, and his own imagination.

The *Historia* was in circulation on the Continent by January 1139: → Robert of Torigni of the monastery of Notre-Dame-du-Bec in Normandy showed a manuscript of it to Henry of Huntingdon, who was visiting Bec and had not yet heard of it. Geoffrey probably began the chronicle before the death of Henry I in 1135. GRISCOM dates the composition on the basis of varying dedications in manuscripts to 1) Robert, Earl of Gloucester, 2) Robert and Waleran, Count of Meulan; and 3) King Stephen and Robert. Robert and Waleran had initially supported Stephen's claim to the throne against that of Henry's daughter Matilda. By 1138, Robert had renounced his allegiance to Stephen and switched his support to Matilda while Waleran continued to support Stephen. GRISCOM therefore believed that neither of the latter two dedications could be later than 1138 and thinking that the dedication to Stephen was prepared for the king's visit to Oxford in April 1136, assigned that as the date of completion. WRIGHT, however, argues that since the *Historia* emphasizes the importance of concord, Geoffrey could have dedicated it to men with different political views and adds that if Henry of Huntingdon had not heard of it by early 1139, it had probably not been completed until 1138. CRICK dates Robert's rift with Stephen to 1137 and believes it was available in some form before 1138.

Unlike most chronicles, the *Historia* gives just three dates: the deaths of Cadwallader in 689 and King Lucius in 562 and Arthur's departure for Avalon in 542. Judging from Geoffrey's alignment of British history with events in the Bible and antiquity, the founding of Britain by Brutus, the great-grandson of Aeneas, probably occurred ca 1100 BC. Geoffrey writes that Brutus and other Trojans, after wandering through Europe, arrived in Albion, an island uninhabited except for a few giants (*Albion que a nemine exceptis paucis hominibus gigantibus inhabitabatur*) (s.v. → *Des Grantz Geanz*). The island is renamed Britain in honour of Brutus, and after his death his sons, Lochnus, Kamber, and Albanactus, divide the island into three parts that become England, Wales, and Scotland. (That Loegria [England] was ruled by the eldest son would fuel later English claims to hegemony over the other two.) After presenting Britain's distinguished classical origins, Geof-

frey then gives an unbroken line of British rulers, including Leir and his daughters and Arthur, until the end of the 7th century. The Roman invasion ends not with conquest but with a truce in which the British king Arvirargus agrees that it would be no shame to be affiliated with Rome. At different times Britons—the brothers Belinus and Brennius, Constantine I, Maximianus, and Arthur—conquer Rome. Constantine I, in fact, becomes the first Christian Roman emperor. The account of Arthur is the most fully developed part of the book, (s.v. → Arthurian material). After his rule, the British degenerate because of plague, famine, and their inability to get along with one another. An angel tells the last king Cadwallader that the British will not control the island until an unknown time that Merlin had revealed only to Arthur. Cadwallader dies at Rome, and the Saxons take over the part of the island known as Loegria.

Though this was widely accepted as a history well into the 16th century, a few medieval writers, notably → William of Newburgh, → Gerald of Wales, and Ranulf → Higden, doubted its veracity, with probably the most frequently cited attack being William's claim that Geoffrey disguised British fables about Arthur under the honourable name of history.

Scholars have speculated about Geoffrey's motives. BROOKE and FLINT argue that the *Historia* is a parody of historical works Geoffrey's contemporaries were producing. Many, however, believe that he presented it as a true account of a period about which people knew nothing, in order to win ecclesiastical preferment and favour with the Normans, who were interested in the history of the island they had conquered. Geoffrey may also have intended to teach lessons from history. ECHARD mentions Geoffrey's lack of faith in historical certainties and concern with the difficulty of achieving strong legitimate rule. He may also have wished to present warnings about the problems caused by civil conflicts. The *Historia* shows little concern for theological issues and marks, as HANNING points out, a departure from ecclesiastical histories like Bede's. Its cyclic view of the past, the sense that similar events occur repeatedly (rebellions, attempts to conquer Rome), is reminiscent of ancient Greek historians.

Historia regum Britanniae is extant in at least 219 manuscripts, at least 58 of which are 12th century, suggesting early popularity for the work. Cambridge, UL, Ii.1.14 (ms. 1706) was the basis

for the GRISCOM edition (1929), but WRIGHT describes it as corrupt and based his edition (1984) upon the late 12th-century Berne, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 568. The First Variant Version, surviving in eight manuscripts, was edited by HAMMER (1951) and WRIGHT (1988), with the later edition based upon Paris, BnF, Arsenal 982. Although some consider this version Geoffrey's source, WRIGHT believes that it is an anonymous adaptation of Geoffrey's text written sometime before 1155 and that it and the common text of the *Historia* were both sources for → Wace.

The *Historia* was adapted several times into the Welsh including the *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Latin verse → *Gesta regum Britanniae*, and several French/Anglo-Norman verse adaptations, including the lost *Estoire des Bretuns* of Geffrei → Gaimar and the *Brut* of Wace. → Lazamon based his English verse *Brut* primarily upon Wace's. More readers might have dismissed the *Historia* as fiction if it had remained an account of British history, but it was soon adapted as the introductory section of many other chronicles, such as the various Prose Bruts (s.v. → Prose Brut, English; → Prose Brut, Anglo-Norman; → Prose Brut, Latin) that also told of the Anglo-Saxon and Post-Conquest periods. This context gave it legitimacy that it would never have had had it remained just a history of the British. Moreover, either directly or indirectly it influenced literature including French prose Arthurian romances, Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Milton's *History of Britain*, 16th-century dramas like Gorboduc and Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and *King Lear*, and, in the 19th century, Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.

Ivo Cavellatus's edition of the *Historia* was printed by Josse Bade (Paris, 1508), with a second edition in 1517. Jerome Commelin published another in Heidelberg (1587). The first translation into modern English was Aaron Thompson's (1718).

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JANE BEAL

EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Geoffrey of Paris

fl. first quarter of the 14th century. France. Clerk and notary of the French royal chancery. Author of the Old French *Chronique métrique* or *Chronique rimée* (Metrical or Rhymed Chronicle). Written in 7924 octosyllabic rhymed verses ca 1313–16, narrates memories of events from 1300–16, mainly in France and Flanders. The attribution to Geoffrey is only hypothetical, however, since nowhere does the text bear Geoffrey's name in the sole extant manuscript (Paris, BnF, fr. 146, fol. 63^r–88^r), an important codex because its contents—*Fauvel*, Geoffrey's *Dits*, the *Chronique*—were probably copied under their authors' supervision.

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LAURENT BRUN

Geoffrey of Vigeois

[Gaufridus de Bruil, Breuil]

ca 1140–post 1184. France. Author of a Latin history of the Limoges area. Of noble Limousin birth he entered the abbey of St. Martial at an early age, becoming a monk in 1160 and priest in 1168. After a stay in the monastery of La Souterraine (Creuse), he was appointed prior of St. Pierre de Vigeois (Corrèze) in 1178. Nothing is known of him after 1184. His chronicle is in two parts, the first covering 996–1182, sometimes mistakenly called *Chronicon S. Martialis Lemovicensis*, offering important information on the local nobility and ecclesiastical affairs, and the second 1182–4, dealing essentially with the conflict between Henry II of England and his sons in the area. Much use is made of diplomatic and epigraphical material as well as oral tradition, relaying the Irish

tradition of ships in the sky and stating that an airship dropped anchor over London in 1122. He is the first writer to call the Cathars 'Albigensians'. The four manuscripts used by Duchesne for his edition have been lost but the text survives in two late copies, of which the 16th-century Paris, BnF, lat.13895 is the more reliable. Geoffrey also copied a version of the → Pseudo-Turpin chronicle.

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RÉGIS RECH

Geoffrey of Villehardouin

1150/4–before 1218. France, Palestine. Marshal of Champagne from 1185 and of Romania from 1204. Geoffrey took the cross in 1199 and acted as negotiator for transport with the Venetians on behalf of the crusaders. His eyewitness account of the Fourth Crusade, the *Conquête de Constantinople* (Conquest of Constantinople), was composed shortly after the events it narrates. It traces the events from the preaching of the Crusade in 1198 to the death of Boniface of Montferat in 1207, ending abruptly with a lament. As one of the leaders of the Crusade, Geoffrey was able to give an account that was authoritative though not unbiased, being in effect an apologia for the Crusade and the decisions made by its leaders.

The chronicle is one of the earliest examples of prose literature in Old French. Often considered 'epic' in tone, the account is economically narrated with little decoration or description, very different in tone and perspective from the other French account of the event, that of → Robert de Clari. Of the six main manuscripts it is followed in two by the chronicle of → Henri de Valenciennes and the history of the dukes of Normandy by → Anonyme de Béthune, in two by a Latin notice of the events after the death of Boniface and in two manuscripts it is found with several other historical texts. Two manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud misc. 587 and Paris, BnF, fr. 4972) have a miniature showing the embarkation of the crusaders. The chronicle was printed in

Venice in 1572, in Paris in 1585, in Lyon in 1601 and Paris in 1657 and has been in print almost continuously since.

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MARIANNE AILES

Georgenberger Chronik

[Zipser Chronik]

15th century. Bohemia. This short German-language chronicle originates from the Spiš (Zips), a league of 24 towns now in north-eastern Slovakia, probably the town of Spišská Sobota (Georgenberg). It presents a history of the Hungarian monarchy from 997, combined with a regional chronicle of the Spiš in the 15th century down to 1457. The author has a strong interest in the ethnography of Hungary and of the Spiš, and a similar interest in crusades, in which he emphasises the leading rôle of German forces. He regards the greatest Hungarian rulers as ethnic Germans, and underlines the loyalty of the German-speaking Spiš for the Hungarian monarchs. The chronicle begins with a discussion of Hungarian ethnography in which the author cites as his source *dy vngerische cronica* (either one of the *Ungarnchroniken* of → Heinrich von Mügeln, or the Latin → *Chronicon pictum*, and in the entry concerning the Tatar invasions of 1241–44 he refers to *dy cronica Martiniana* (either → Martin of Opava or one of the numerous *Martiniana*).

Only one manuscript exists: Poprad (Deutschendorf), Štátny okresný archív, Fond Archiv mesta Spišská Sobota [olim Spišská Sobota, StA], cod. 14 (Cat. no. 656), 5^v–10^v. The chronicle was used as a source in the later historiography of the Spiš, notably in the 1687 work of the historian Kaspar Hain, jurist and councillor in Levoča (Leutschau).

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STEPHEN MOSSMAN

Georgios monachos

(George the monk)

9th century. Byzantium. Also known as Georgios Hamartolos (George the Sinner), he was the author of a very popular "monk's-chronicle", known under the title *Chronikon syntomon*, that was probably written after 876. It runs from the creation of the world until the reign of Michael III (842–67) in four books. The first book records profane history from the very beginning to Alexander the Great; the second covers the sacred history of the Old Testament; the third includes Roman history from Julius Caesar to Constantine the Great; in the fourth book Georgios arrives at his own time, that is at the death of the emperor Theophilus (842) and the restoration of the veneration of icons by Theodora. This part of the chronicle is a most important contemporary source for the years from 813 to 842.

Georgios mainly compiled other chronicles, including → Eusebius of Caesarea, → Ioannes Malalas, → Theophanes Confessor, the church fathers (e.g. Athanasius of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa) and hagiographical literature. But although he wrote in a more analytical style and used an easily understandable language he did not conceal his theological and political opinions and hurled insults at those who incurred his disapproval, especially the iconoclasts. Thus the chronicle mainly contains the history of monasticism and orthodoxy. The author depicts in great detail the Manichaeans, whom he thought were succeeded by the Paulicans and Iconoclasts. The oft-consulted popular work was frequently re-edited, re-arranged and continued. A continuation to 948

found in many manuscripts was formerly known as *Georgios Continuatus*, but is now known to be a version of the chronicle of → Symeon magistros & logothete. Georgios's chronicle was also soon translated into Slavic languages (Bulgarian and Serbian) and into Georgian. Hence it came to the attention of the author of the so-called *Nestor Chronicle* (→ *Pověst' vremennych lét*).

The most important manuscripts are: Paris, BnF, Coislin. 310 (10th century), Paris, BnF, Coislin. 305 (11th century), Messina, BU, cod. mess. gr. 85 (10th/11th century), El Escorial, RMSL, Φ I 1 (11th century), Patmos, Μονή του Αγίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου, cod. 7 (11th century), Florence, BML, LXX, 11 (11th century), Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 40 (11th century), Paris, BnF, Coislin. 134 (12th century), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham 295 (12th century), Paris, BnF, gr. 1705 (13th century), Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 65 (13th century), Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 83 (14th century), Leiden, BU, Vossianus gr. F. 66 (11th century). *Editio princeps* by François Combeffis (Paris, 1685).

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STEFAN ALBRECHT

Georgios Synkellos

fl. early 9th century. Byzantium. Author of the Ἐκλογή χρονογραφίας, a universal history completed during 808 or 810. His byname derives from the fact that he served the patriarch Tarasius (784–806) as σύγκελλος (synkellos; a kind of private secretary). We do not know when he died, though it most likely in 813. The few facts we do know about the life of Georgios Synkellos, are preserved thanks to → Theophanes Confessor. As such, we can justifiably hypothesize that the two men were friends. In fact, Theophanes supposedly undertook the task of writing his own chronicle after encouragement from Georgios Synkellos, and he continued where Georgios left off, at the reign of the Roman Emperor Diocletian (AD 284).

The Ἐκλογή χρονογραφίας (Chronological selection) is a universal chronicle from creation

to AD 284, written in Greek prose. It is important because the author dates events that occurred in the period of the Old Testament and during the ancient Greek and Roman history with uncanny accuracy, having first consulted the chronological charts of his days. He dates the incarnation to the year 5500 from the beginning of the world, whilst in Byzantine sources normally we can find the year 5509. We are aware of most of the sources of his work and it is accepted that he used them with a critical perspective, and only after studious research. Some of these sources are works whose original form has been lost, so that we only know them from Syrian and other translations. Georgios himself states that he used the translation of Origen for Biblical events. He also took information from Sextus → Julius Africanus, → Ammianus Marcellinus, Pandorus (who is lost now), → Eusebius of Caesarea, → Josephus and others. It is also of note that he utilized the biblical Apocrypha, though with some reservations as he himself confirms, because they were not accepted as usable in the same way as the Holy Scriptures. His work did not have the impact that other chronographic texts by subsequent authors had. However, it seems that the author of the chronicle of → Pseudo-Symeon copied many extensive excerpts of the Ἐκλογή Χρονογραφίας.

Georgios's work is transmitted in some 24 manuscripts, most of them only partial. Good texts include: Vatican, BAV, cod. gr. 155, fol. 1–64 (10th century, partial only); Paris, BnF, cod. gr. 1336 (11th century); Paris, BnF, cod. gr. 1711 (11th century); Paris, BnF, cod. gr. 1764 (11th century); and Munich, BSB, cod. gr. 391 (15th century).

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CHRISTOS STAVRAKOS

Gerald Frachet

[Geraldus de Fracheto, Géraud de Frachet]

1205–71. France. Author of a Latin universal chronicle, a chronicle of the Dominican order, and a collection of lives of Dominican monks. Born into the lesser nobility of the Limousin area (France), Gerald joined the Dominicans in Paris in 1225. He was prior of the convent of Limoges 1233–45, prior of Marseille in 1250 and prior of the province of Provence 1251–59. Later he became prior of Montpellier before retiring to Limoges in 1263.

By 1248 he had written the first version of his universal chronicle (extant in two manuscripts, Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 2 and Vatican, BAV, Borghese lat. 350). An enlarged version, no longer extant, was used by → Vincent of Beauvais in 1254 for the final revision of his *Speculum Historiale* (Douai version). In 1266 Gerald circulated what is known as his second version to which he later appended additions up to 1268 or 1271; this survives in some 25 manuscripts, mainly from the 13th century. It is likely that he offered a copy to Charles I of Anjou, who was considered to be a man providentially sent for France; using the *Reditus regni Francorum* and the Sibylline prophecies, Gerald asserts the Carolingian descent of this new Charlemagne, while assigning to him also the role of a new Constantine who will re-unite East and West. As an addendum to the chronicle Gerald updated a short history of Aquitaine, modifying it into a loyal defence of the Capetian monarchy and a manifesto of defiance against the English. The chronicle was used by at least seven contemporary or subsequent chroniclers. It is interesting to note that apart from his own Limousin and the Auvergne, this southern chronicler was mostly read in the north. Although he was the official historian of the Dominicans, it was thanks to the Cistercians that his text was so widely circulated.

Between 1233 and 1245, Gerald made notes on the history of his Limoges monastery, aimed mainly at commemorating the benefactors of the order. In 1254, he expanded this into a chronicle of the Dominican order (*Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*), for which he collected accounts of the exemplary deaths of some of the brothers. At the general chapter meetings of Milan and Paris he was commissioned by the master, Humbert of Romans, to transform his accounts into a

Vitae Fratrum, which included also anecdotes of the lives of the first brothers from all the order's convents.

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RÉGIS RECH

Gerald of Wales

[Giraldus Cambrensis, Gerald de Barry]

ca 1146–1220/23. Wales. Latin author of ethnography, biographical and autobiographical writing, hagiography, history, poetry and theology. Gerald was a descendant of Anglo-Norman aristocracy and of Welsh kings and was related to the earliest Anglo-Norman settlers of Ireland. Born at Manorbier Castle in Pembrokeshire, he studied at Paris, and became archdeacon of Brecon and royal clerk to Henry II. He was, and is, best known for his ethnographical descriptions of Ireland and Wales (*Topographica Hibernica; Descriptio Cambriae*) and his account of a journey through Wales with Archbishop Baldwin to preach the crusade in 1188 (*Itinerarium Cambriae*), but his history of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland (*Expugnatio Hibernica*) was also popular in manuscript and was translated into English in the 15th century (see → *English Conquest of Ireland*); a different 16th-century translation was included in the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

Gerald himself called the *Expugnatio* the *Vaticanialis historia*, claiming that it derived its authority mainly from the prophecies of Merlin, which had a central place in his rhetoric about Anglo-Celtic relations; nevertheless, Gerald's work displays great ambivalence towards → Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, which is reflected by the fact that the prophecies are attributed to two distinct Merlins. Like many of Gerald's works, including his autobiography (*De rebus a se gestis*) and his bitter observations on the final years of the reign of Henry II (in his *De principis instructione*),

the Irish history also presents a highly personal, highly partial, and highly partisan view of events. Gerald also wrote *vitae* of Saints Caradoc (now lost), David, Ethelbert, Remigius and Hugh of Lincoln.

Gerald had a strong interest in topography, and he produced a map of the British Isles which accompanies the *Topography of Ireland* in several manuscripts, a detailed map of Wales which is now lost but referred to as extant in the 17th century, and a map of Europe, a copy of which is found in Dublin, National Library of Ireland, ms. 700, a manuscript of the ethnographical and historical works on Ireland.

Many of Gerald's later works are connected to his failure to obtain for himself the bishopric of St. Davids (1199–1203) or claim for it metropolitan status (extensively argued for in the *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae*); paradoxically, his first attempt to secure the see had been thwarted by a perception that he was too close to the Marcher aristocracy in south Wales, while the second time he was deemed too much a champion of the Welsh. Gerald's works are coloured by lifelong grudges he held against, among others, anyone he perceived had stood in the way of his career advancement: his nephew (he described their feud at length in his *Speculum duorum*, in Vatican, BAV, cod. reg. lat., 470); the Angevin Kings Henry II and John; and the Flemings of Pembrokeshire, who had refused to pay the tithes he had been appointed to collect in his first commission in Wales in 1174–6.

Gerald often revised his works and appears to have exerted control over the illustration of his ethnographical works. London, BL, Royal 13 B VIII, containing copies of the two Irish works and the *Journey through Wales*, is believed to have been produced under Gerald's supervision. The abundance of manuscript witnesses, particularly of his works on Ireland and Wales, in various authorial versions, testifies to their popularity throughout the later Middle Ages. That they were read not only for Gerald's predilection for anecdotes and his talent for exciting narrative, which he shared with his colleague and friend Walter Map, but also as historical sources, is evidenced by their appearance among the sources of various authors, including Ranulf → Higden, Thomas → Burton and the authors of the → *Annals of Hailes* and the → *Genealogy of the Earls of Brecknock*. Nevertheless, while popular with many, Gerald's

works were often controversial and could still inspire rage even centuries later: violent attacks were waged on Gerald as a historian by several 17th-century Irish Catholics, most famously John Lynch in his *Cambrensis eversus* (1662).

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SJOERD LEVELT

Gerhard of Steterburg [Steterburg]

d. 1209. Germany. Author of a Latin prose chronicle on the Saxonian cloister of Steterburg. Canon of the monastery Riechenberg (near the imperial residence town of Goslar) from 1155. Provost of the monastery Steterburg (near Salzgitter) from 1164.

Gerhard's *Chronicon Stederburgense* covers the period from the foundation of the monastery (ca 1000) to the death of Duke Henry the Lion in 1195. It describes briefly the foundation history of Steterburg and then concentrates on the economic life of the monastery. Consecrations, acquisitions and donations are mentioned, such as the first donation to Steterburg by Luder of Goslar and his pious daughter, who devoted themselves and offered all their belongings to the Church. An account of the years of Gerhard's provost office follows, which is a remarkable testimonial of the

everyday life of a monastery. Political events from Saxony or the Empire are usually reported only if they relate to Steterburg. Nevertheless, the last parts of the chronicle provide more information on imperial issues, especially on Duke Henry the Lion after his return from exile in England. Details of world history are also given, such as the lament about Sultan Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem. This is mentioned only in reference to the current situation in Saxony, however, where Henry's opponents, the Emperor and Saxon nobles, are likened to pagans and Henry is described as the ideal Christian ruler.

The monastery at Steterburg experienced a difficult time during the struggle against Frederick's son Henry VI, who devastated Saxony and burned down Hanover. As one of Henry the Lion's confidants Gerhard acted several times as his official emissary. In 1194 Gerhard contributed in this position to the conciliation between Emperor Henry VI and Henry the Lion. The last part of the chronicle covers the last days of Henry the Lion. The old, ailing Duke is portrayed as a patron for the compilation and copying of the *antiqua scriptaronicorum*. Henry's death was announced by a miracle, which exemplifies his devotion to God.

The chronicle is also known as *Annales Stederburgenses*, since many annalistic entries were added later, most of them taken from the → *Annales Pegavienses* and → *Annales Palidenses*. Only one copy of the chronicle (written ca 1316) is preserved: Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, VII B Hs 365. The manuscript also contains seven donation charters and notes about the altar consecration. One continuation, titled *Gesta praepositorum Stederburgensium*, was written at the beginning of the 14th century.

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LEILA WERTHSCHULTE

Gerstenberg, Wigand

1st May 1457–27th August 1522. Germany. Student at Erfurt, priest at Frankenberg an der Eder, chaplain of Wilhelm III, Landgrave of Hesse, and of Anna, Landgravess of Hesse, afterwards again priest at Frankenberg. Author of a chronicle of Hessen and a town chronicle of Frankenberg, both in German prose.

The *Landeschronik von Hessen* was begun in 1493 and consists of two parts: from Alexander the Great to 1247 and from 1247 to 1515, the year of its completion. It was compiled from numerous sources such as → Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* and *Historia Langobardorum*, Konrad von Marburg's *Miracula S. Elisabeth*, → Jacob of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, Jakob → Twinger von Königshofen's *Deutsche Chronik*, the lost Chronicle of Hesse attributed to Tilemann → Elhen von Wolfhagen, Johannes Riedesel's *Chronicle of Hesse* (which is only known through Gerstenberg) and many more. Gerstenberg adds legendary material from his own knowledge and invention, especially as far as Hesse is concerned. It is the only medieval Chronicle of Hesse still remaining.

The *Chroniken von Franckenberg* is compiled from the same sources and was finished in 1506. Gerstenberg's aim is to show the ancient roots of the town and its high rank. He dates the town's origin to the early sixth century. One exciting highlight is a fire burning down the whole town in 1476, which he saw as an eyewitness: *Nu hatte das fur gantz obbirnhant genummen unde brante in allen gasßen, so das die huße zusammenvilen in die strasße, das nymants mee gewandern noch gelesschin enkonde* (now the fire had gained the upper hand and burned in all the lanes so that the houses collapsed into the streets, so that nobody could walk through them or put it out).

Both chronicles survive in autographs at Kassel, LMB, 4^o ms. Hass. 115 (*Landeschronik*) and 4^o ms. Hass. 26 (town chronicle). In both cases, a programme of illustrations (line drawings

and miniature paintings) was planned, and partly executed. Extracts of Gerstenberg's chronicles were later arranged, apparently by himself, into the *Regententafel von Thüringen und Hessen*, a historical-genealogical table found in Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 238.

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JÜRGEN RÖMER

Gert van der Schüren

ca 1411–90. Germany. Author of a ducal chronicle in Low German. Born the son of the Xanten monastery's reeve (*Stiftsvogt*) Johann, Gert came in contact with the court of Cleves at an early age through his uncle and mentor Arnold → Heymerick. He became imperial notary in 1440 and ducal secretary ca 1447. He is famous for his *Teuthonista*, a dictionary of his home region's Low German vernacular.

His *Clevische Chronik* covers the history of the House of Mark (after 1368 Kleve-Mark) through the reign of Johann I and breaks off in 1451. It was later continued through the early 17th century by Johann Turck (died 1614). In the first part of the chronicle Gert mostly borrows from → Levold of Northof, while the second draws heavily on an earlier anonymous Latin chronicle. In his introduction Gert discusses the comparative merits of prose and verse forms for veridical narration, justifying his choice of prose by its superior veracity. However, the chronicle's value as historical source is rather limited. Instead it has caught the interest of literary history for its episode on the Swan Knight (Lohengrin). The autograph is Kleve, StA, cod. 15.

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Gerung, Nikolaus [Blauenstein]

pre-1410–ca 1475. Switzerland. Cleric at the minster in Basel, where he wrote a Latin chronicle of the bishops of Basel, and a continuation of the → *Flores temporum*. In cathedral records he is first referred to as "Nicolaus Gerung alias Blauenstein", later simply as "Blauenstein". In 1430 he was appointed chaplain and secretary to the Bishop of Basel, which gave him access to confidential information. After Bishop Johann's death in 1436, he was made chaplain to the cathedral chapter, for which he compiled an archive catalogue and a cartulary.

In the year 1475 Nikolaus compiled a collection of Latin historical texts, which he left to the Basel Carthusians (Basel, UB, cod. D IV 10). It comprises his own reworking and continuation of the *Flores temporum*, running to Clement VI. Nikolaus borrows from the *Cosmidromius* of Person → Gobelin and from Enea Silvio → Piccolomini's continuation of the *Liber Augustalis* by → Benvenuto de Rambaldi. From 1417 on he reports independently on papal history from the election of Martin V to the jubilee of 1475, with a focus on the Council of Basel, in which he sides with Eugene IV. The imperial history concentrates on the conflicts of the reign of Frederick III. The text breaks off in the middle of the account of the Burgundian war.

Nikolaus' collection also contained his second work, the chronicle on the bishops of Basel, which he explicitly connects to the *Flores temporum*. Here, he added to its information from a regional perspective. His intimate knowledge allowed him to describe the time from 1365 and especially the contemporary bishops in greater detail. He thus wrote the first comprehensive history of the diocese. This text also ran up to 1475. It

provided the model for all subsequent work on the topic.

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BIRGIT STUDDT

Gervase of Canterbury

ca 1145–ca 1210. England. Benedictine monk of Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury, and sometime sacristan of the cathedral (ca 1193). Author of some seven Latin texts, including a *Mappa mundi* (a topographical survey in tabular form), accounts of contemporary conflicts involving the cathedral priory, and historical works, the most important of which is his *Chronica*.

The *Chronica*, begun in 1188, includes an account of how Henry I's plans for the succession fell apart, but its narrative proper begins with his death (1st December 1135) and ends with that of Richard I (6th April 1199). As far as the mid-1180s, this narrative is centred on England but takes in the wider history of Latin Christendom; thereafter its central theme is the struggle to prevent the archbishops of Canterbury establishing a college of secular canons as a home for an expanded household. This conflict began when Archbishop Baldwin (1185–90) attempted to found a collegiate church at Hackington: it was to receive half the offerings from the cathedral, which implied not just a loss of income for the monks of the cathedral priory, but also that the canons were to supplant them as the custodians of Becket's cult. The monks foiled this plan, but Baldwin then set about founding a college at Lambeth, a scheme which was continued by his successor, Hubert Walter (1193–1205).

Gervase's method shifts with this narrowing of focus. The first half is assembled from works such as → Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and → John of Worcester's *Chronacula*, though

the material which derives from the latter may have been transmitted through the lost *Gloucester Chronicle* of the early 1180s, which was also used by the continuator of the → *Winchcombe Chronicle*. For Thomas Becket's pontificate Gervase relies on his *vitae* (s.v. → *Vitae* of Thomas Becket). For the 1170s and early 1180s he used a variety of sources including → Roger of Howden's *Gesta Henrici Secundi*. But from ca 1184 onwards he depends on the community's knowledge and the letters in its archives. He includes speeches and visions. In one vision Becket is shown driving Baldwin away with "the sword of St Peter", a gesture which Gervase has the monks interpret as a sign that they should take their case to the apostolic see. Some of the speeches are quoted from letters and other records, but many seem to have been invented.

Though the *Chronica* was a response to Baldwin's threat, Gervase claims in his preface to be writing in order to preserve his soul from the danger of *otiositas* (idleness). He wishes to compile rather than to "write up". He asks not to be reckoned among the chroniclers because he writes not for a *biblioteca publica*, but for "his brother Thomas" and their "poor little family", terms that STUBBS read as references to his natural kinsmen rather than to the monks of his community. Gervase implies that he is committed to writing a history conceived along the most conservative of lines and for the most private of audiences, but the rhetorical content of the work's second half belies these statements. It is difficult to explain the presence of this material if Gervase did not mean to persuade some sort of wider audience. It follows that the preface to the *Chronica* is an elaborate disguise, and its much quoted discussion of the differences between "chronicles" and "histories" needs to be seen as a rhetorical construct rather than as a serious discussion of the different genres of history and their uses.

Other historical works by Gervase are his *Acta pontificum Cantuariensis ecclesie*, from the arrival of Augustine to the death of Hubert Walter in 1205, and his *Gesta regum*, a compilation drawn from a variety of sources including → William of Malmesbury, → Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gervase's own *Chronica*. The *Gesta* was continued from 1199 to 1210 by another writer, and this continuation is an original and important record.

Gervase's works survive in three manuscripts: BL, Cotton Vespasian ms. B.xix, which STUBBS

dated to the time of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury (1245–70); Cambridge, Trinity College, R.4.11, a “servile” late 13th-century copy of the former; and Cambridge, UL, Ff.1.29, a late 13th-century manuscript which omits two short works and a selection of letters on the dispute with Baldwin included in Vespasian B xix, but which may be copied from a superior exemplar.

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PAUL ANTONY HAYWARD

Gervase of Tilbury

ca 1152–1220/35. Southern France. An English clerk and nobleman, lawyer, historian, geographer, encyclopedist, Gervase was from the 1180s a member of the court of King Henry II Plantagenet, for whom he composed the (lost) *Liber facetiarum*. After Henry’s death, he found new patrons in Reims, Sicily and Arles where he became resident after 1190 when the Welsh emperor Otto IV granted him the title of a “Marechal of Arles”. It is to this monarch that Gervase addressed his chief work, the voluminous *Otia imperialia* (imperial leisure), written 1209–14.

Divided into three sections or *decisiones*, the *Otia* offer an impressive conflation of universal history and encyclopedia, the *series temporum* and the *imago mundi* genre of Medieval chronicle respectively. Classical, biblical and medieval knowledge and narrative (including such myths as Arthur or Vergilius, a group of narratives on

the supposed adventures of the poet Virgil) are compiled for the emperor’s “leisure”, instruction and edification. The first *decisio* reviews the history of creation until the deluge, mentioning the early inventions, arts and crafts; the second comments on the history of mankind and makes a “comparison of priestly and kingly powers”. The last reports on 145 “marvels from every province” of the world. Gervase makes use of a wealth of written and oral material. For the first sections he accessed especially → Peter Comestor, → Honorius Augustodunensis and → Geoffrey of Monmouth, for the third Pliny, → Isidore of Seville and miscellaneous topographical sources.

Gervase’s repertory of divine creation and human history found wide diffusion. Some 30 manuscripts survive, one of which was written in Arles before 1220, and is thus very close to the author (Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 933, 1^r–85^v). Parts of the work were also translated into French by → Jean d’Antioche and → Jean de Vignay. It was used by high and late medieval chroniclers such as → Martin of Opava, poets like Giovanni → Boccaccio or Francesco → Petrarca, redactors of such *exempla* collections as the *Gesta Romanorum* and even scientists. The suggestion that Gervase might also be the author of the *Ebstorf mappa mundi* is unfounded.

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MATHIAS HERWEG

Geschichten von wegen eines

Bundes

(Stories concerning a confederation)

15th century. Germany/Poland. Anonymus report in High German on events in Prussia between 1440 and 1462, by a contemporary witness within the Teutonic Order. In the same introductory passage from which the modern title of the work is taken, the author declares his aim to describe the controversies and struggles between the Order and the Prussian Confederation. He is well informed, not least about events in and around the Marienburg and may have belonged to the inner circle of the Grand Master, as were Laurentius → Blumenau and the author of the first continuation of the → *Ältere Hochmeister-*

chronik. Like them, the author of the *Geschichten* views the Confederates as rebels against divine authority, and the open war which they wage on the order as an act of contemptible treachery. He does not report the entire course of the Thirteen Years’ War, nor the 1466 Peace of Torun in which the Teutonic Knights lost the most valuable parts of their territory. However, the *Geschichten* do reveal the depth of the crisis faced by the Order, and a sense of the inevitability of defeat. Towards the end of his account, the author personalizes the course of events by depicting the fate of the Grand Master who, after the mortgaging of the Marienburg, was barely tolerated in his own residence, was gradually deprived of his entourage, and finally was compelled to leave the castle altogether. In contrast to Blumenau, who tends to a more general range of thoughts and to a philosophical approach to history, and the author of the first *Hochmeisterchronik* continuation, who tries to structure the chain of events by concentrating on actions and counteractions, the *Geschichten* present detailed snapshots of individual occurrences, probably because their main sources are diary entries which are barely edited. The *Geschichten* survive in six manuscripts, three of them dated around 1500 (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, cod. D 1335; El Escorial, RMSL, K.II.9; Vienna, ZDO, Hs. 305).

Bibliography

Text: M. TOEPPEN, *Geschichten von wegen eines Bundes von landen und steten widerden orden Unser Lieben Frawen und die bruder desselben ordens im lande zu Prussen geschehen*, in SRP 4, 1870, 75–211.
Literature: U. ARNOLD, “Geschichte [sic] von wegen eines Bundes”, *VL*² 3. *RepFont* 4, 716.

GISELA VOLLMANN-PROFE

Gesselen, Konrad

fl. 1425–69. Germany. Author of the Latin *Cronicae ordinis teutonicorum*. Born in Geismar (Hessia), Gesselen matriculated at Rostock university in 1425 (BA 1427). In the early 1440s he became principal of the Old town school in Toruń, where the astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus was among his students. In 1464, he and Jan → Długosz made Latin translations of German rhyme chronicles by → Nikolaus von Jeroschin and → Wigand von Marburg, both works of the Teutonic Order. They survive in a single manuscript (Berlin, Geheimes

SA, OF 273). The Nikolaus adaptation bears the title *Cronica vetus, Extracta e Cronica Cruciferorum ordinis teutonicorum* (fol. 230^r–277^v), Wigand *Cronica nova prudentia* (fol. 279^r–303^v). The latter is particularly interesting as Wigand’s original text survives only fragmentarily.

Bibliography

Text: T. HIRSCH, SRP, 2, 1863, 453–662.
Literature: M. PERLBACH, “Der Übersetzer des Wigand von Marburg”, *Altpreußische Monatschrift*, 32 (1895) 411–24. R. RUCIŃSKI, “Konrad Gesselen: Przykład kariery uczonego w średnio-wiecznym Toruniu”, *Rocznik Toruński*, 28 (2001), 37–49. U. ARNOLD, *VL*² 3.

HIRAM KÜMPER

Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium

(Deeds of the abbots of Fontenelle)

[Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii]

ca 823–45. Normandy. Latin chronicle of Benedictine Abbots of Fontenelle (Normandy). The *Gesta* retrace the lives and salient deeds of the abbots from the foundation of the abbey in 649 by St. Wandrille (whose name it would later adopt) to the abbacy of Anségise (823–33). The first part, written at the behest of Anségise with monastic reform in view, was recast by the same author (the archivist?) and extended to cover Anségise’s abbacy in the time of his successor Fulk (834–45). The aim was to constitute solid evidence for the abbey’s possessions and highlight the reforming zeal of Anségise at Fontenelle, Luxueil and Saint-Germer de Fly. The format adopted is that of the *Liber Pontificalis*, a succession of entries containing biography of the abbot, constructions or repairs carried out during his abbacy, donations of lands and precious objects. The numerous sources include the *Annales Petaviani*, → *Annales Mettenses Priores*, → *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, → *Chronicon Moissiacense*, and → Bede, as well as saints’ lives. A continuator added short chronological notices on Fulk, Joseph and Hérimbert. Three complete manuscripts (Paris, BnF, lat. 5426A, Brussels, KBR, 3722 and Le Havre, BM, 332) and three abbreviated and two fragmentary (concerning Anségise) survive.

Bibliography

Text: P. PRADIÉ, *Chronique des abbés de Fontanelle (Saint-Wandrille)*, 1999 [with French translation].

Literature: *RepFont* 4, 727.

RÉGIS RECH

Gesta Cnutonis regis

(Acts of King Cnut) [Encomium Emmae reginae (Praise of Queen Emma)]

11th century. England, Scandinavia. A Latin prose encomium to Emma of Normandy (d. 1052), second wife of Æthelred II (the Unready) of England and married after his death to the Dane Cnut in 1017 in a Christian marriage, although his earlier consort, Ælgifu of Northampton, was still alive. The encomiast's highly partisan short tract is divided into three books, plus prologue and argumentum, and provides a major contemporary source for the period of Danish rule of England before, during and after the death of Cnut; the existence of two titles is justified. The first book takes us to the death of Sweyn Forkbeard; the second and longest tells of Cnut's struggle with Edmund Ironside, his rule, his marriage to Emma, the birth of their son Harthacnut, and Cnut's death in 1035. The last tells of the (according to the encomiast, illegitimate) succession of Harold I (Harefoot, Cnut's son by Ælgifu, who is referred to only as Cnut's concubine), then of Harthacnut, and finally of Edward the Confessor, son of Emma and Æthelred, in 1042. The author was a Benedictine monk of St. Bertin in Flanders. The principal manuscript, BL, add. ms. 332241, has a picture of Emma with her two sons. The text was first edited by André Duchesne (Paris, 1619).

Bibliography

Text: G.H. PERTZ, *Cnutonis regis gesta sive encomium Emmae reginae*, MGH SS 19, 1866, 509–25. A. CAMPBELL, *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, 1949 [with translation].

Literature: F. LIFSHITZ, "The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*: A 'Political Pamphlet' of the Eleventh Century", *Haskins Society Journal*, 1 (1989), 39–50. I. STRACHAN, *Emma: the Twice-Crowned Queen*, 2004. *RepFont* 4, 321f.

BRIAN MURDOCH

Gesta comitum Barcinonensium

13th century. Catalonia (Iberia). A Latin chronicle of the monastic school of Ripoll. Initially a brief account of the Catalan counts of Barcelona, Besalú, Cerdànya and Urgell, constructed in 1180–4, the text was based on earlier chronicles of Ripoll as well as legends and traditions. A section on Alfons II's reign was added in 1200–8, a further section on the reign of Pere II and the minority of → Jaume I in the 1220s, with a final section on Jaume I's reign written in the late 1260s. At the close of the 13th century a new text was constructed by three separate writers, this becoming the definitive version. This second, more lively text differs significantly from the first, including substantial chapters on the reigns of Pere III, Alfons III and the first years of Jaume II (1276–99), with Pere III being turned into the hero of the work. It also copies the prologue of Rodrigo → Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispanie* almost entirely, as well as using other Catalan chronicles, notably → *Chronicon Rotense I* and *Dertusense II* (→ *Chronicones Rivipullenses*). Given the close relationship between Ripoll and the crown, the texts constitute something akin to an official history of the Barcelonan comital dynasty. A Catalan version of the *Gesta*, going to the last years of Jaume I, was probably written at some time between the two Latin texts. The sole manuscript of the Latin text is Paris, BnF, lat. 5132. The Catalan translation survives in nine codices, the best known of which are Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, L-9 & L-10; Madrid, BNE, ms. 647 and Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 943.

Bibliography

Text: L. BARRAU DIHIGO & J. MASSÓ TORRENTS, *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, 1925.

Literature: P. FREEDMAN, "Cowardice, heroism and the legendary origins of Catalonia", *Past & Present*, 121 (1988), 3–28. *RepFont* 4, 719.

DAMIAN SMITH

Gesta Dagoberti I regis

Francorum

ca 830–5. France. Written in the Abbey of St Denis in the entourage of Hilduin, adviser to the emperor Louis the Pious. The aim was to celebrate Dagobert's devotion to the abbey. Its anonymous

author (Hincmar?) fleshed out substantially the account of → Fredegar, using St Denis charters, → Gregory of Tours and the → *Liber historiae Francorum*, as well as many saints' lives and passions. It owes much of its glory to its finale, the vision recounted by the Hermit John in Sicily to Ansoald, Bishop of Poitiers, in which the saints Dagobert had honoured all his life, Denis, Maurice and Martin, snatch his soul from the devil and place it in Paradise. The text was first published by André Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, 1636, I, 572–89. The sole manuscript is Paris, BnF, lat. 1864.

Bibliography

Text: B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM II, 1885, 399–425.

Literature: *RepFont* 4, 724f.

RÉGIS RECH

Gesta episcoporum

Cameracensium

(Deeds of the bishops of Cambrai)

9th–15th century. France. Written for the most part in 1024–5 by a canon of Cambrai cathedral close to bishop Gerald I (1025–51) and then resumed after the bishop's death, this history in three books was falsely attributed to Balderic of Thérouanne, who died as Bishop of Noyon in 1122. The first book gives accounts of the bishops who preceded Gerald. The second is an enumeration of the domains of the cathedral and a history of the monastic foundations in the diocese. The third book is an unfinished eulogistic biography of Gerald that stresses his ability at reconciling differences. Its sources are archives and narratives. Various continuations in Latin and French take the account up to the 15th century. Abridged versions in Latin were made by a monk of St. Géry in 1180 and a canon of Cambrai in 1191. A French version for the years 1092–1135 was made during the bishopric of Enguerrand of Créquy (1274–1286). Among the surviving manuscripts are Douai, BM, 851 and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 75F15.

Bibliography

Text: G. WAITZ, MGH SS, VII, 1848, 393–510.

Literature: E. VAN MIGROOT, "Kritisch Onderzoek omtrent de Datering van de *Gesta episcoporum*

Cameracensium", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 53 (1975), 281–332. *RepFont* 4, 722.

RÉGIS RECH

Gesta episcoporum
Halberstadensium

late 10th–early 13th century. Germany. Anonymous Latin episcopal chronicle of the diocese of Halberstadt in Saxony from its foundation under Charlemagne to the pontificate of bishop Konrad of Krosigk (1201–8).

The oldest part dates back to the last years of bishop Hildeward's pontificate (968–95). It remains uncertain whether this section was an independent historical work or merely a catalogue of Halberstadt's bishops which was extended by notes on the history of the empire and the diocese. These oldest records were revised between ca 1050 and 1150 and extended in one or two versions. A variety of information again about the history of the empire and the popes was also added, drawing on chronicles by → Thietmar of Merseburg, → Frutolf von Michelsberg and → Ekkehard of Aura. The work was then revised and extended again by an anonymous member of the chapter of Halberstadt shortly after 1208.

The *Gesta* praise Charlemagne and Louis the Pious as founders and protectors of the diocese, presenting them as models for contemporary kingship and dwelling on their relations with the bishops. The imperial foundation was particularly important for the bishops and the chapter of Halberstadt in the light of the competing claims of the neighbouring archbishopric of Magdeburg (since 968) and the political and territorial crises that followed the investiture controversy in the 11th century. Accordingly, the *Gesta* praised the great age and the *primatus honoris* position of Halberstadt. The last, contemporary part of the work focuses on the bishops Gardolf (1193–1201) and Konrad (1201–8), whose participation in the crusades is praised.

The only medieval manuscript, Halberstadt, Bibliothek des Domgymnasiums, Nr. 63 (dated 1423), was lost in 1945. Only Hamburg, SB & UB, cod. hist. 355 (late 17th or early 18th century) remains.

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Text: L. WEILAND, *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS 23 (1874), [reprint 1986, 73–123].

Literature: G.-P. HANDSCHUH, *Bistumsgeschichtsschreibung im ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystem: Studien zu den sächsischen Gesta episcoporum des 11. bis frühen 13. Jahrhunderts*, 1982. K.-U. JÄSCHKE, *Die älteste Halberstädter Bischofschronik*, 1970. O. MENZEL, "Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung des Bistums Halberstadt", *Sachsen und Anhalt*, 12 (1936), 95–178. K. NASS, *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo und die sächsische Geschichtsschreibung im 12. Jahrhundert* 1996. D. SCHLOCHTERMEYER, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters: Die politische Instrumentalisierung von Geschichtsschreibung*, 1998. B. SCHMEIDLER, "Zu den älteren Geschichtsquellen von Halberstadt", *Sachsen und Anhalt*, 16 (1940), 107–19. W. WATTENBACH & F.-J. SCHMALE, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vom Tode Kaiser Heinrichs V. bis zum Ende des Interregnum*, 1, 1976. *RepFont* 4, 732.

STEFAN TEBRUCK

Gesta episcoporum Tullensium

(Deeds of the Bishops of Toul)

ca 1107. France. The Latin text was compiled by a clerk at Toul who ends his account with the death of bishop Pibo in 1107. It copies the format of the → *Liber pontificalis*, but is incomplete. The various entries were based on saints' lives, like St. Epvre, and diplomatic texts which give rise to long analyses of charters conferring grants to the church at Toul. The text is fuller from the period of bishop Ludelme (895–906) onward, but particularly so for the episcopacy of Pibo (1070–1107). Two manuscripts are extant: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 70 H 45 (12th century) and Brussels, KBR, 274. The text was first published by Dom Martène, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, III, 1717.

Bibliography

Text: G. PERTZ, MGH SS 8, 1848, 632–48.

Literature: *RepFont* 4, 742.

RÉGIS RECH

Gesta Florentinorum

14th century. Italy. Lost Florentine annals in Italian vernacular which can be reconstructed from the later tradition. A major source for the history of Florence between 1080 and 1270. In 1872 SCHEFFER-BOISCHORST pointed out a number of similarities in the surviving Florentine chronicles which led him to deduce a common lost source he called *Gesta Florentinorum* (Deeds of the Florentines) following → Ptolemy of Lucca, who mentioned the *Gesta et Acta Florentinorum* (Deeds and Acts of the Florentines) as his primary source for information on Florence. These annals, which were probably quite succinct originally but quickly grew into a rich compilation, rapidly became the main source for all Florentine chroniclers between 1070 and 1280. Reconstructing these from the works of the chroniclers who drew on them, SCHMEIDLER has demonstrated that they yielded very little information on the history of the city, more on its exterior policy concerning the *contado* and the other cities of Tuscany, and a few notes on the main events related to the Papacy, the Empire and the Crusades. The annals are cited in the first books of Giovanni → Villani's *Nuova Cronica*, as well as in minor chronicles, such as those of Paolino → Pieri and → Simone della Tosa.

Bibliography

Text: B. SCHMEIDLER, MGH SS Rer. Germ. ns 8, 1929, 243–77.

Literature: G.A. BRUCKER, *Florentine politics and society*, 1962. R. DAVIDSOHN, "Der Verfasser des Diario d'Anonimo fiorentino, 1358–1389", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 23 (1931–2), 267–75. R. DAVIDSOHN, "L'avo di Niccolò Machiavelli cronista fiorentino", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 93 (1935), 35–48. A. GHERARDI, "Diario di Anonimo fiorentino" in *Cronache dei secoli XIII e XIV*, 1876, 6, 209–92. P. SCHEFFER-BOISCHORST, "Gesta florentinorum", *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 12 (1872), 427–68. *RepFont* 4, 727.

COLETTE GROS

Gesta Francorum et aliorum

Hierosolimitanorum

(Deeds of the Franks and other Jerusalem pilgrims)

ca 1100. Outremer (Palestine). Chronicle of the First Crusade, covering 1095–9, composed not later than the beginning of 1101. The author was probably from Apulia and a vassal of Bohemond. He was clearly a layman and took part in the battles, which explains why his narrative is different from the accounts written by priests. He did not take part in the councils and he reports on them only by hearsay.

The author relates the events of the First Crusade starting with the visit of Pope Urban II to France in November 1095 and ending with the battle of Ascalon in August 1099. Some scholars regarded this text as an abbreviation of the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter → Tudebode, but it has since been demonstrated that it was Tudebode who based his chronicle on the *Gesta Francorum*. Because of its precision and objectivity the *Gesta* is now universally considered the main source of almost all the others chronicles of the First Crusade. In general the narrative is faithful and precise, and all the dates are exact and confirmed in other sources. The author was clearly witness of some of the events, but he relates others by hearsay, such as the beginning of French crusade. He makes no mention of the Council of Clermont. Some parts seem to be a journey notes, quite short, while others (sieges of Nikaia, Antioch and Jerusalem) are longer narrations. The author knew very little about Islam and had tendency to confuse Turks with Arabs.

The principal manuscripts: Madrid, BNE, ms 9783, fol. 149–76; Vatican, BAV, reg. lat. 572, fol. 1–64; and BAV, reg. lat. 641, fol. 1–46. In the *editio princeps* by Jacques Bongars in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1612, the chronicle is divided into 39 chapters, arranged in four parts of unequal length.

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Text: B.A. LEES, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, 1924. A. MATIGNON, *La geste des Francs: chronique anonyme de la première croisade*, 1992 [French translation]. R. MYNORS, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, 1962 [with English translation by R. HILL].

Literature: F. DE SAULCY, "Tancrede", *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 4, 1843, 301–315, esp. p. 303, no. 1. H.K.L. VON SYBEL, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 1841. C. THUROT, "Etudes critiques sur les historiens de la première croisade", *Revue historique*, 1 (1876), 67–77. *RepFont*, 4, 728f.

BEATA SPIERALSKA

Gesta Fresonum

ca 1460–1500. Low Countries. Probably written in the Cistercian monastery of Klaarkamp near Rinsumageest (Frisia), in a mixture of Dutch and Frisian.

This prose chronicle consists of a series of thirteen partly legendary historical stories concerning the Frisians from their origins until 1248. A number of these stories are elaborated with parallel stories from the Bible, suggesting a comparison between the Jews as the chosen people and the Frisians. The related → *Historia Frisiae* is more elaborate in this respect. Some of the stories focus on the origins of the Frisian people, the acquisition of their homeland and the road to Christianity; others on the acquisition of freedom and law from Charlemagne. A relatively large part is dedicated to the heroic deeds of Frisians during the crusades. In this context, a reference is made to "our monastery" of Klaarkamp. The regional perspective is mostly that of Frisia west of the Lauwers, although other parts of Frisia are treated as well.

This chronicle must have been translated from a lost Latin original; it was later or around the same time translated into Dutch as the *Gesta Frisiorum*. Clearly the *Gesta Fresonum* belongs to a textual tradition that was popular in the second half of the 15th century. It is closely related to the Latin *Historia Frisiae* and Dutch → *Olde Freesche Cronike*; their mutual relationships, however, are still to be studied in more detail. It is transmitted through 16th-century or later copies, such as Leeuwarden, Tresoar, 9056 D hs. (Collectie Gabbema), fol. 1–33.

It is transmitted through 16th-century or later copies, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 78, fol. 304–320 (*Gesta Fresonum*), and Leeuwarden, Tresoar, 9056 D hs. (Collectie Gabbema), fol. 1–33 (*Gesta Frisiorum*).

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Text: W.J. BUMA, P. GERBENZON & M. TRAGTER-SCHUBERT, *Codex Aysma*, 1993, 506–55 [*Gesta Fresonum*, with German translation]. E. EPKEMA, *Oude Friesche Kronijken*, 1853, I, 283–306 [*Gesta Frisiorum*]. I.E. BIESHEUVEL, “*Gesta Fresonum*, een Oudfries kroniekje in *Codex Furmerius*”, *It Beaken*, 61 (1999), 145–67 [a shortened and incomplete version of *Gesta Fresonum*].

Literature: J.A. MOL & J. SMITHUIS, “De Friezen als uitverkoren volk”, *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis*, 11 (2008), 165–204. J. HOEKSTRA, *Vier Friese kronieken*, 1948. J.J. VAN MOOLENBROEK, “Het verhaal van een kruisverschijning in de laatmiddeleeuwse *Gesta Fresonum* en *Gesta Frisiorum*”, *De Vrije Fries*, 67 (1987), 41–52. *Narrative Sources* NL0497. *RepFont* 4, 730.

JUSTINE SMITHUIS

Gesta Henrici II

[*Gesta Regis Henrici secundi Benedicti Abbatis*; Benedict of Peterborough]

late 12th century. England. A chronicle, probably anonymous, which details the reigns of Henry II and Richard I from Christmas 1169 to 1192, focussing on regnal activities, the actions of central government, relations with the Church, and events on the Continent. It is said to have been copied by order of Benedict of Peterborough, whose name was associated with the title until modern times. The text in the older of the two surviving manuscripts (BL, Cotton Julius ms. A.xi) is prefaced by a genealogy of Henry II, labelled *Gesta Regis Henrici II Benedicti Abbatis*. The chronicle in this manuscript breaks off abruptly in 1177. A later copy in the fire-damaged BL, Cotton Vitellius ms. E.xvii provides the remainder of the text. Another manuscript was lost in the 1694 Westminster Library fire. The text is closely related to the chronicle of → Roger of Howden; the *ODNB* states he was the author, but GRANSDEN disagrees, showing that while the two texts are similar, they are different enough to suggest separate authorship. First published by Hearne in 1735.

Bibliography

Text: W. STUBBS, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, RS 49, 1867.

Literature: E. KING, “Benedict [Benedict of Peterborough]”, *ODNB* 2004; A. GRANSDEN, *HWE* 1, 222–25.

LISA M. RUCH

Gesta magnifica domus carrariensis
(Magnificent deeds of the house of Carrara)

late 14th century. Italy. An anonymous compendium of lives of the leaders of the Carrara family in Padua from the early 11th until the late 14th century. The several versions of the *Gesta magnifica domus carrariensis* survive in four redactions, two in Latin and two in Paduan dialect. According to the research of ROBERTO CESSI and MARINO ZABBIA, the original version (now lost) was composed at the Carrara court in the 1360s and rewritten in the 1370s by the curial notary Bernardo da Caselle, who added a number of charters and other documents from the Carrara chancery. This text, based largely on the histories of → Rolandino, → Mussato and → Cortusio, was the basis for the series of biographies in Latin of Carrara lords from Litalfo in 1027 to Francesco il Vecchio in 1368, compiled in Padua by order of Francesco Novello da Carrara soon after his reconquest of Padua in 1390. It survives as Redaction A in a single manuscript: Venice, BNM, Lat. X,381 (2802).

Redaction B (Padua, Biblioteca Civica, B.P. 746) is an Italian version of the lives to 1350, based closely on Caselle’s lost work, while Redaction C (Padua, Biblioteca Privata Novello Papafava dei Carraresi, ms. 38, part 1) is a Latin portrait gallery of Carrara lords to 1350. Redaction D (Padua, Biblioteca Papafava, 38, part 2) is a vernacular version of the life of Francesco il Vecchio down to 1368. The various versions replace any detailed narrative of Paduan politics with a series of lives of various length that celebrate the Carraras’ leadership in the region, and are intended to justify the family’s rule over Padua.

Another anonymous work composed at the Carrara court in the 1390s was the *Ystoria de mesier Francesco Zovene* (History of messer Francesco Zovene), which treats Francesco il Vecchio’s system of marriage alliances and contains important material on the training of his son. *La Guerra da Trivixo* (The war of Treviso), written by an official at the Carrara court, provides the most detailed chronicle of the Paduan conquest of Treviso by the Habsburg duke of Austria in 1383–84.

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Text: R. CESSI, *Gesta magnifica domus carrariensis*, *RIS*² 17, 1, 2, 1942–8. R. CESSI, *Ystoria de mesier Francesco Zovene*, *RIS* 217, 1, 3, 1965,

173–226. R. CESSI, *La Guerra da Trivixo* (1383), *RIS*² 17, 1, 3 1965, 227–66.

Literature: G. ARNALDI & L. CAPO, “I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca trevigiana”, *Storia della Cultura veneta. Il Trecento*, 1976, 319–24. M. ZABBIA, *I notai e la cronachistica italiana nel Trecento*, 1999, 301–13. *RepFont* 4, 723.

BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Gesta regum Britannie

(Deeds of the kings of Britain)

ca 1235–54. England. Latin metrical adaptation of → Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae*, in 4929 hexameter lines, divided into ten books. The author omits parts, such as the *Prophetiae Merlini* (*Prophecies of Merlin*), and adds allusions to classical myth and history as well as religious content and moralizing passages such as a reference in the Leir (Lear) story to the wheel of Fortune: *O rota fortune, que tam cito volueris* (O wheel of Fortune, how swiftly you turn!). The work shows the influence of Virgil, Ovid and Lucan, and its structure and style are indebted to the 12th-century *Alexandreid* of Walter of Châtillon. The author probably, as MORRIS suggests, considered Arthur another Alexander.

The work is attributed in Paris, BnF, lat. 8491 (13th century) to a William of Rennes, and MICHEL, MORRIS and ECHARD believe it was written by the 13th-century Dominican scholar of that name. WRIGHT questions this for several reasons and observes that the poem is nowhere listed among William’s writings. He believes its author was an anonymous Breton. There are two other manuscripts: BL, Cotton Julius ms. D.xi (early 14th century) and Valenciennes, BM, 792 (589) (late 13th or early 14th century). In the latter, it is preceded by Geoffrey’s *Historia*.

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Text: F. MICHEL, *Gesta regum Britanniae*, 1862. N. WRIGHT, *Gesta regum Britannie*, 1991.

Literature: S. ECHARD, *Arthurian Narrative in the Latin Tradition*, 1998, 93–106. R. MORRIS, “The *Gesta Regum Britanniae* of William of Rennes: An Arthurian Epic?”, *Arthurian Literature*, 6 (1986), 60–123. *RepFont* 4, 721f.

EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Gesta regum Francorum usque
ad annum 1214

[*Historia Francorum usque ad 1214*;
*Historia regum Francorum ab origine
gentis ad annum 1214*]

13th century. France. A short Latin history of the kings of France until 1214, written in 1205 and continued to 1214 by a monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris. It was used as a basis for the translation of → Anonyme de Béthune, and source for the → *Récit d’un ménestrel d’Alphonse de Poitiers*. The prologue states that the work was aimed not only at “the studious” but at a lay audience. Manuscript: Paris, BnF, lat. 17008.

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MARIGOLD ANNE NORBYE

Gesta Roderici Campidocti [Historia Roderici]

12th century. Castile (Iberia). This anonymous Latin chronicle is a biography of the Castilian hero, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, known to posterity as El Cid. The manuscripts offer us the title of *Gesta Roderici Campidocti*, and as such this work has been published by various editors. The *Historia* focuses on Rodrigo's warlike exploits, although coverage of them is uneven. The author, who was generally favourable to Rodrigo, was probably a churchman, perhaps born in La Rioja, Aragón or Catalonia. The account of Rodrigo's deeds contains little that is legendary and certain passages may even be the testimony of an eyewitness. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL argues that the work results from the compilation of several blocks of text. There are two extensive gaps.

There are various theories regarding the date of the work. An early date of composition (ca 1100), soon after Rodrigo's death in 1099, has been defended by MENÉNDEZ PIDAL and FLETCHER. Others, such as UBIETO ARTETA and SMITH, believe that the chronicle was composed about the middle, or towards the end, of the 12th century. The work is transmitted in two early manuscripts (Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, A-189 and G-1) and a late copy.

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EMMA FALQUE REY

Gesta Scotorum contra Anglicos [Historia de Scotis et eorum origine et gestis usque ad annum 1368]

14th century. England. A short Latin chronicle written to show that the Scots owe homage to the English, preserved in two manuscripts, London,

Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 99, fols. 203^r–206^r (ca 1378) and Reigate, Parish Church of St. Mary, Cranston Library, Item 1117, fols. 274^r–279^v (ca 1370).

The Lambeth account begins in the 5th century and ends with negotiations for the ransom of King David II of Scotland in 1368. A selective history, it shows *victorias regum Angliae, Arthuri, Willelmi I, Edwardi I, et Edwardi III de Scotis latas et homagia Scotorum regibus Anglia facta* (The victories of the English kings Arthur, William I, Edward I and Edward III over the Scots and the homage made to the English by kings of the Scots). The account in the Cranston manuscript begins with 1066 and ends with the capture of King David at Neville's Cross, 17 October 1346.

Interpolated in the latter manuscript, before the account of the battle of Halidon Hill (1333), is a satirical Latin prose account of the killing of Scots heroes like William Wallace and Simon Fraser in the early 14th century. This *Passio Scotorum Periurorum* (Martyrdom of the Lying Scots) is written as a biblical parody (e.g. "There went out a decree from Caesar Edwardus that all the militia of England would be enrolled...").

Gesta Scotorum remains unedited. The *Passio* was edited and translated in the late 19th century by the MARQUESS OF BUTE, who considered it a "would-be comic narrative" characterized by "cruelty and profanity" and written for someone of the "lowest possible taste", perhaps England's Edward II.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Gesta Stephani

1148/53? England. This Latin chronicle is one of the chief witnesses of the reign of King Stephen of England (1135–54). It is remarkable for

its inclusion of details not found elsewhere, as well as for its almost total lack of specific dates. The text, which runs to 64 manuscript pages, falls into two distinct parts. The first, written in 1148, is clearly supportive of Stephen. Later sections, all composed after 1153, treat him much more ambiguously, suggesting that the loyalties of the author may have shifted in the intervening years. The authorship of the chronicle is unknown, though some scholars have attributed it to Robert of Lewes, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

The first printed edition of the text was published in Paris by André Duchesne (1619), who worked from a now lost manuscript from Laon. In the mid-20th century, an additional manuscript (Valenciennes, BM, 792) was discovered, which appears to be a 14th-century copy of the Laon manuscript, but which also fills several lacunae in Duchesne's edition.

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WILLIAM SMITH

Gesta Treverorum

late 11th century. Germany. An extensive Latin account of the early history of Trier and its diocese with many local myths incorporated. It builds upon an older *Hystoria* which dates back to the middle of the century. This short earlier narration, which fits the genre of a bishop's chronicle more strictly than the *Gesta Treverorum*, was harshly criticised by Gozwin of Mainz in 1060/62 but also seems to have influenced the author of the → *Annolied*. Then again, some scholars view the *Annolied*, along with Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, → Orosius, → Gregory of Tours, and various saints' lives, among the verifiable sources of the *Gesta Treverorum*. The *Gesta Treverorum* shows a striking commingling of secular and sacred history along the lines of an *origio gentium*, a narration of the Treverans' origin. Unusually among such narratives, this origin is located in the Gallia.

The text has enjoyed an extensive manuscript tradition, divided into three branches by WAITZ (1848), with an original recension dated in the late 11th and two widespread recensions that were

elaborated in the course of the 12th century. The latter include several additions of charters and other documents. Notable among the tradition of the earliest manuscripts is London, BL, Harley 3773. The *Gesta Treverorum* enjoyed a wide reception during the middle ages and the early modern period, not only in terms of manuscript circulation but also as a historical source.

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Gesta Ungarorum deperdita

11th century. Hungary. A lost narrative in Latin, traces of which are preserved in later Hungarian chronicles, from which its contents can be tentatively reconstructed. Most importantly, it should be seen as the early stage of the development of the Chronicle composition of the 14th century. The earliest text (*Urgesta*) was originally written at the Hungarian royal court and served to legitimize the rule of the younger lineage of the Árpádians and their connection with St. Stephen, the founder and patron of the state.

Probably it told of the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin, the organization of the state by Árpád, the acceptance of Christianity by Géza and the building of the Christian kingdom by St. Stephen. It may have described the civil wars in the time of Peter Orseolo, the heathen uprising of the 1040s, and the history of the Vazul lineage, the relationship between Andrew I and his younger brother Béla I, and afterwards between Andrew's son, Salomon, and Béla's sons Géza I and St. Ladislav. The story may have finished with the rivalry between Géza's sons Álmos and Coloman the Learned.

Its history of the 11th century is a compilation representing several ideological points of view. There are two underlying chroniclers, one the so-called "legitimista", who writes in support of Salomon, the legal king of Hungary, and the other the

"idoneista", whose sections, known as the *Gesta regis Ladislai*, underline the celestial Ladisla's ability to rule. So we observe traces of conflicting legitimization narrations, both friendship with Germans and enmity towards them, and stories representing the perspective both of Salomon and of his opponents.

The date of writing, the structure and the fate of the text are still unresolved. According to one view it is was written at the court of Andrew I (1047–61) and afterwards several times rewritten and continued. Other opinions place the chronicler at the court of Salomon (1061–74), Géza I (1074–7), St. Ladislav (1077–95) or Coloman the Learned (1095–16), this last possibility having recently gained popularity because of the comparison with the origins of the chronicle-writing in other Central-European countries. The main sources for the narrative were probably the oral tradition of the Hungarian court, foreign writings (the Roman historian Justin, → Regino of Prüm, the → *Annales Altahenses*) and older Hungarian annalistical notes, partly preserved in the → *Annales Posonienses*.

The text of the chronicle was re-worked (several times?) and continued in the 12th century, and a new version was made around 1270 by one Magister Ákos. These lost early versions influenced a number of later texts, including the *Gesta Hungarorum* of → Simon of Kéza, the → *Chronica Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, the → *Chronicon Hungarico-Polonicum* and the → *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*. As late as the mid-14th century, → Heinrich von Mügeln was using a longer version from the 12th century.

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RYSZARD GRZESIK

Geste de Burch

(Account of [Peter]borough)

13th century. England. The 615-line verse chronicle renders into Anglo-Norman *laisses* material from the late 12th-century chronicle of → Hugh Candidus, privileging the interests of Peterborough Abbey (Benedictine). The manuscript upon which SPARKE's 1723 edition was based is lost; as HUNT notes, it was probably BL, Cotton Otho ms. A.xvii, which was destroyed in the 1731 fire at Ashburnham House. SPARKE's text is inaccurate, and BELL attempts to reconstruct what must have underlain SPARKE's work. HUNT's recent edition adds segments from a lacunose codex, Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Rawl. B 333 (Ramsey Abbey, ca 1300). The text begins with Peterborough Abbey's refoundation and dedication to St. Peter during the late 10th century, and in both versions it ends abruptly and is perhaps incomplete. Amidst its account of abbots and kings, it includes the story of Hereward the Wake, an outlaw figure prominent in the 12th-century *Gesta Herwardi* and associated with the abbey's shift from English to Norman rule.

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SHARON GOETZ

Geste des Engleis en Irlande (Deeds of the Normans in Ireland)

ca 1190–1200, revised ca 1230. Ireland. Anonymous verse chronicle in Anglo-Norman. This fragment of a chronicle (formerly edited as *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*) survives in a single manuscript (London, Lambeth Palace Library, Carew 596). The beginning and ending are missing, but 3457 lines of it survive, composed in octosyllabic rhyming couplets.

The text covers, with some background information, the colonization (1169–76) of Ireland by the *Engleis*, the Welsh Norman subjects of Henry II of England, under the leadership of Richard

fitz Gilbert, better known as Strongbow. Along with some information not recorded elsewhere, the content is similar to the *Expugnatio Hibernica* of → Gerald of Wales, and it is possible that the author was also a Welshman of Norman extraction. Like Gerald, too, he views events from the English point of view, though he tells us that he has received his information from one "Maurice Regan", the Irish interpreter of Strongbow's Irish ally, Diarmaid Mac Murchada. His style is strongly oral, and his aim is baldly factual: he is anxious to preserve the heroic deeds of the *Engleis* in Ireland. He makes a good effort to render the Irish names of hundreds of people and places.

The manuscript was possibly produced by the Dominicans of Waterford in the 13th century, though there is no record of it before the early 17th century, despite its importance for a critical and poorly-documented period of Irish history. See also → *English conquest of Ireland*.

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EVELYN MULLALLY

Gestes des Chiprois

early 14th century. Cyprus. An anonymous compilation comprising three works of varied nature that all concern the history of the crusader Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus and are written in Old French prose (with some interpolated verses) between 1314–21.

The compilation is composed of the short annalistic account → *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, which covers the history of Palestine from Adam's creation to 1224, the only extant version of the memoirs of → Philippe de Novare of the civil war in Cyprus between the imperialists and the Ibelins and their supporters (1223–42), and the → *Chronique d'un Templier de Tyr*, which takes the narrative to the year 1314. The title was introduced by the first editor, following the 16th-century Cypriot chronicler Florio Bustron who used it for Philippe de Novare's work.

It has plausibly been suggested that the unknown compiler may also have been the author of the first and third parts of the compilation. According to the scattered information provided in the *Chronique du Templier de Tyr*, he was born in a Frankish family of the lesser nobility from

Tyre around 1255 and worked as a secretary in the Outremer and Lusignan administrations. He has commonly been identified with Gérard de Montréal, a diplomat, a jurist, and a historian, an attractive hypothesis based on Florio Bustron's aforementioned passage. By adapting the works of others, composing his own works based on older sources and personal recollection, and putting everything together in a chronologically linear and thematically and ideologically coherent narrative, the compiler/chronicler enhances the perspective of 13th-century Outremer chronicles and demonstrates his intentions for a more ambitious historical synthesis, which, despite its stylistic shortcomings, allows Cypriot historiography to take a new direction.

The text survives only in one manuscript, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Varia 433, which lacks the folios of the beginning and the end. The colophon informs us that Jean de Miège finished copying the text in prison in Kyrenia (Cyprus) on 9 April 1343 at the request of Aimery de Mimars, whose relative Jean de Mimars was, according to Leontios → Machairas, the author of a now lost historical work.

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ANGEL NICOLAOU-KONNARI

Gherardi, Iacopo, da Volterra [Iacobus Volaterranus]

1434–1516. Italy. Humanist, diplomat, and historian. Born in Volterra, Gherardi moved to

Florence as a guest of the Spinelli banking family, and also stayed in Siena. In 1458 he entered the service of then bishop and later cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Pope → Pius II's nephew. In 1463, the learned cardinal Jacopo Ammannati hired Gherardi as his private secretary—a post he occupied until Ammannati's death in September 1479. Gherardi composed a *Vita* (Life) of Ammannati, and also a diary of the cardinal's travel to Florence from Rome (now lost).

Gherardi also annotated and made an index of → Richard of Cluny's *Cronaca*, dedicating his work to Pope Paul II. In November 1479 Gherardi became apostolic secretary. This respected and well-remunerated position gave him access to the inner workings of the papal curia, which he painstakingly described in his later *Diarium Romanum* (Roman Diary) until the death of Pope Sixtus IV. After spending a few years in Volterra, in 1487 he was summoned back by Pope Innocent VIII and was sent on several diplomatic missions to Naples, Florence and Milan. His richly detailed dispatches were published by CARUSI in 1909.

In 1491 Lorenzo de' Medici (Lorenzo the Magnificent) asked Gherardi to become the tutor of his son, young cardinal Giovanni, future Pope Leo X. After the death of Innocent VIII, Gherardi once again moved to Volterra. He worked on his *Diarium Romanum* covering the events he had witnessed until August 1484. The *Diarium*, conceived as a continuation of Ammannati's *Commentarii*, is a fundamental source of wittily recounted political and humanistic information. Late in his life, he was called upon by popes Pius III and Julius II, but preferred to stay in Volterra. In 1512 he became bishop of Segni, and in 1513 Leo X promoted him to the prestigious bishopric of Aquino. Gherardi took part in the eighth and ninth session of the Lateran Council, and died in Rome in 1516.

Unfortunately the extant manuscript, Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 3943, is incomplete. The manuscript on which MURATORI based his edition, formerly in the Biblioteca Estense of Modena, is now lost.

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MARCELLO SIMONETTA

Giacomo, Notar

[Notar Iacobo]

fl. 15th–16th century. Italy. Neapolitan notary, possibly identical with the attested Giacomo della Morte. Author of the *Cronica di Napoli* (Chronicle of Naples, a title originating in GARZILLI's edition), written in a Campanian vernacular with Latin insertions. It recounts the history of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the origins of Naples until 1511, subdivided into chronologically ordered paragraphs. The main source for the older history is the → *Cronaca di Partenope*. The bulk of the chronicle is given over to an account of the French invasion (1494) and the first years of the Spanish Viceroyalty. The chronicler is interested in conflicts and political changes in Naples, but he also reports major events in Italian and European history. There is a vivid account of Neapolitan opposition to the *Inquisizione*, with the chronicler reporting the crowd's cry *Viva el re et mora lo Inquisitore!* (Long live the king, and death to the Inquisitor!). The text survives in autograph, with readers' notations: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. Brancacciano II F 6. Corrections and marginal notations suggest that the autograph is a private "archive", in which the chronicler rewrote his unfinished work.

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CHIARA DE CAPRIO

Gielemans, Jan

[Johannes Gielemanus]

1427–87. Brabant (Belgium). Augustinian, entered the Rooklooster near Auderghem as a

regular monk before 1460; subprior of the monastery of Zevenborren (1475) and until his death subprior of the Rooklooster. Author of (among other texts) the *Sanctilogium* (ca 1471–79), the *Hagiologium Brabantinorum* (1476–84), the *Novale Sanctorum* (ca 1480–85) and the *Historiologium Brabantinorum* (1486–87).

Gielemans saw himself mostly as a collector of (already existing) texts, which corresponds with the design of the *Sanctilogium* as well as the *Hagiologium Brabantinorum* and the *Novale Sanctorum*. The *Sanctilogium* contains more than a thousand *vitae* of saints which are arranged according to the date of the saint's feast day. The *Hagiologium Brabantinorum* was composed to demonstrate the holy status of the Brabantine duchy. It was divided into two parts: one part contained the *vitae* of saints belonging to the Brabantine ducal dynasty (with Charlemagne as the patron saint), while the other part contained the *vitae* of the saints who were born within the borders of Brabant or had lived (and died) in Brabant. In the *Novale Sanctorum* Gielemans collected the *gesta* of the saints who mostly lived after the pontificate of pope Celestinus V (d. 1296).

Gielemans' last major work, the *Historiologium Brabantinorum*, is also a compilation. It contained 64 texts (more or less) directly concerning the history and deeds of members of the ducal dynasty or concerning the history of the duchy of Brabant. Here Gielemans focussed mainly on religious aspects of the Brabantine history and not so much on the political history. The texts have survived in manuscript Vienna, ÖNB, s.n. 12811–12814.

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SJOERD BIJKER

Gil de Zamora, Juan

[Iohannes Aegidii Zamorensis]

ca 1250–ca 1318. Castile (Iberia). A Franciscan friar and intellectual from Zamora, and author of a history of that town. In 1266 Gil de Zamora moved to Madrid, where he lived for nearly six years in the Convento de San Francisco el Grande. He became a Franciscan ca 1270 and later helped establish a Franciscan monastery in Zamora. Gil de Zamora studied for several years at the University of Paris and in Siena. While he was a student at Paris, he became acquainted with San Buenaventura da Fianza, an Italian cardinal who would later be named a Doctor of the Catholic Church. He returned to Zamora ca 1278 and served as a teacher in the Franciscan houses of study until 1295, the year in which he became Vicar of the province of Santiago. King → Alfonso X of Castile and León (1252–84) appointed him tutor of his son Sancho, who, as Sancho IV, was king of Castile and León from 1284–95. Gil de Zamora served as the Provincial Minister of Santiago 1300–18.

Juan Gil de Zamora was a prolific author whose large body of work reflects his interest in many disciplines, including history, rhetoric, and religion. In the *Liber de Preconiis civitatis Numantinae*, his town chronicle, he compares Zamora to ancient Numantia, the Celtiberian town famed for its citizens' courage and patriotism during the Roman invasion. There are two extant manuscripts: Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, A. 189 and Madrid, BNE, ms. 1376.

He dedicated his *Liber Preconiis Hispanie*, which is also known as *Educación del Príncipe*, to his pupil Sancho. This manual details the history of Spain and provides further education for Spain's future king. Amongst the extant manuscripts there is one 13th-century codex: Paris, BnF, n.a. lat. 175.

Liber de Iesu et Mariae, Gil de Zamora's book of Marian legends in verse about the intervention of the Virgin Mary in the lives of saints, provided Alfonso X with inspiration for his Cantigas de Santa María. Madrid, BNE, ms. 9503 is one of three extant manuscripts.

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MICHAEL J. MCGRATH

Gilbertus Romanus

13th century. Italy. Very little is known about Gilbertus' biography, except that he was probably a native of Italy and almost certainly was active in Rome. The relationship between him and a contemporary Gilbertus Romanus from England (prior of Nuneaton in Warwickshire) remains uncertain, but it is very likely that they were two different persons.

Gilbertus Romanus was the author of the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum romanorum*, which records all the emperors and popes from Christ to the years 1220/21. The chronicle gives a very short description for each emperor and pontiff, which usually mentions his geographical origin, the number of years in office, and his famous or infamous deeds. The text ends with emperor Frederick II and pope Honorius III, but in one of its six continuations it extends to pope Boniface VIII. Gilbert's text served as a source of inspiration for various other authors, including → Albert of Stade and → Martin of Opava.

There are numerous manuscripts of this text in the main libraries of Western Europe. Good examples include Cambridge, UL, Dd X 31 (14th century); London, BL, Egerton 1944 and Harley 3678 (13th century); Paris, BnF, lat. 4895 and lat. 4910 (both 14th century), and lat. 12923 (15th century); Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 5000 (17th century); vat. lat. 5001 (ca 1300) and vat. lat. 7137 (17th century); Venice, BNM, ms. 135 (14th century); Vienna, ÖNB, ms. 509/Hist. Prof. 661 (14th century); and Zürich, ZB, Car. C 33 (13th century).

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CRISTIAN BRATU

Gildas

fl. 5th–6th century. Britain. Little is known about this early Brythonic monk and chronicler, though he is the subject of two 9th-century vitae which place his birth in the Kingdom of Strathclyde and describe him as one of the greatest scholars of the Celtic Church. His dates are a matter of controversy. In his brief *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* (Concerning the Ruin and Conquest of Britain), he writes that he was born in the year of the siege of "Mons Badonicus" and "one month of the fourty-fourth year since then has already passed." According to an entry (possibly from the late 8th century) in the → *Annales Cambriae*, the siege occurred in 516, but → Bede dates it at 493. KERLOUÉGAN, observing that scholars have dated Gildas' work between 479 and 530, points out that he may have been born in the mid 5th century. DUMVILLE, however, has argued in favour of ca 500.

Gildas apparently considered himself as much a moralist as a historian, and he sees the hand of God in what happens to a people. The *De excidio* has three parts: first, a preface in which he warns that the Lord had not spared the Israelites "when they strayed from the right track"; second, a brief history of Britain from before the arrival of the Romans to the arrival of the Saxons; third, a warning, influenced by Old Testament prophets, to his contemporaries to abandon their sins. Judging from his account, although the British had had difficulty defending themselves from invaders after the Romans withdrew and had lived like "beasts of the field", Gildas was living after the British leader Ambrosius Aurelianus had won decisive battles against the Saxons, and foreign invasions appear to have ended. Civil unrest, however, continued, and he is concerned about the consequences of the Britons' immorality, especially that of kings and clergy. His vision of the future is bleak.

Although offering few dates, the *De excidio* is, MORRIS writes, "our chief guide to the history of Britain between the Romans and the English". Gildas apparently drew largely on oral accounts. The *De excidio* is extant in full in four manuscripts, the earliest from the 11th century (BL, Cotton Vitellius ms. A vi). It interests Arthurian scholars because, although Gildas mentions Mt. Badon, which the → *Historia Brittonum* associates with Arthur's greatest victory, he does not mention Arthur.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Giles de Roye

[Le Roye; Aegidius de Roya]

1415–78. France. Cistercian author of the *Compendium historiae universalis*. Giles le Roye is first on record as a member of the monastic community of Cîteaux, near Dijon. Shortly after graduating as a master in theology at the Collège St. Bernard in Paris in 1449, he was appointed *magister regens* in the Collège (and, for a brief period, provisor), and from 1453, he combined this function with the abbacy of Royaumont. Following disputes with the monks of Royaumont in 1458, le Roye resigned and settled in the abbey of Les Dunes, in the county of Flanders.

Shortly after Giles le Roye's arrival in Les Dunes, Abbot Jan Crabbe commissioned him to write a chronicle subsequently known as the *Compendium historiae universalis*. Describing history from the Creation until 1431, the work is an abbreviated edition of the *Chronodromon* by Johannes → Brando (Jean Brandon) and its continuation by Bartholomaeus de → Beka, both fellow monks of Les Dunes. It has been suggested that le Roye's edition was intended to serve as a gift to prominent relations of Jan Crabbe upon their visit to the abbey or to the latter's residence in Bruges. Of nine documented manuscript from the years 1460/63 to 1485, at least six were offered to such individuals: the first recipient was Humbert Martin, abbot of Cîteaux (to whom the work is dedicated), followed by Anthony of Burgundy, bastard son of the duke, and several abbots of

Clairvaux and Cîteaux. After presenting a copy of the chronicle to Martin in 1463, le Roye continuously revised his work; as a result, three different versions can be distinguished and nearly every preserved manuscript contains small but significant variants. After le Roye's death, his fellow monk Adrian de → But prepared a fourth edition, a now lost manuscript of which Andreas Schott used for the *editio princeps* (Frankfurt, 1620).

Three manuscripts contain important miniatures (Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Faculté de Médecine, 375, The Hague, Museum Meermann Westreenianum, 10 A 21 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 922).

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STEVEN VANDERPUTTEN

Giles of Orval

[Aegidius]

d. in or after 1251. Low Countries. Monk of the Cistercian abbey of Orval (Belgium) Author of the Latin *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium* (Deeds of the Bishops of Liège) from 1048 to the year 1247. Although Orval was situated in the diocese of Trier, Giles showed great interest in the history of his native Liège and of its prince-bishops. He reworked the *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium* of → Heriger of Lobbes and → Anselm of Liège, adding a continuation for 1048–1247, which was completed in 1251.

This is a rather uncritical compilation of a vast number of sources, including the → *Chronicon rhythmicum Leodiense*, → Reinier of St. Lawrence, → Reiner of St. James, → Rudolf of St. Trond, and numerous saints' lives. Several texts are today only known through Giles' citations.

The original manuscript of the *Gesta*, preserved in Luxemburg (Grand Séminaire, TRE 01 001), was written by scribes but contains corrections by the author himself, as well as annotations by Giles' friend Maurice of Neufmoustier, canon of Huy. Several abbreviated versions also exist, known as *Gesta abbreviata* (e.g. Brussels, KBR, ms. 19627). In the 14th and 15th centuries, historians like → John of Hocsem, John of Warnant, → Mathias de Lewis, → Ralph of Rivo, → Jean de Stavelot, and the anonymous author of the → *Chronicon Leodiense usque ad a. 1402* used Giles' work and continued it up to their own time. Almost every late medieval Latin chronicle from Liège is in some way a reworking or continuation of Giles' *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*.

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PIETER-JAN DE GRIECK

Gilles de Bouvier

[Héraut Berry]

fl. mid-15th century. France. Author of works of royal history. Gilles came to Paris in 1402 and attached himself to Charles VII, who made him *Roi d'armes de Berry* (the Berry Herald) in 1420, and in 1451, the *Roi d'armes des Français* (Chief Herald of France). In keeping with his functions as a herald, he travelled widely as a royal messenger and ambassador both in France and abroad, visiting Turkey and Armenia (1438–41), Bohemia (1443), Luxembourg (1445), Ireland (1448–50), Rome (1448), Brussels and Metz (1450), and Guyenne (1451). He devoted the final years of his life (1450–5) to writing.

In addition to his *Armorial de France, Angleterre, Ecosse, Italie et autres puissances* (1450; Paris, BNF, fr. 4985), he wrote the *Livre de la Description des pays* about the many countries

that he visited during his travels, although the work includes little evidence of personal observation and owes much to earlier compilations. A second aspect of his royal duties was to prepare reports on subjects about which Charles wished to be informed. He thus produced on the basis of a Latin original the *Mémoire du fait et destruction d'Angleterre en partie. Histoire du Roi Richard* (Paris, BnF, fr. 5028, fol. 106–32).

As a chronicler, Gilles le Bouvier is chiefly known for his compilation of the *Chronique de Charles VII*, a work that incorporates the entirety of his *Recouvrement de Normandie*. It was long thought that he was an eyewitness to all the events he reported, but it is now established that he could not have been present at all the sieges and battles of the Norman campaign, but instead relied heavily on the reports submitted by fellow heralds. Commissioned by Charles VII, the *Chronique* is a work of official history. Gilles omits incidents that seem to reflect badly on his patron; hence, for example, he makes no mention of Agnès Sorel (Charles's mistress). On the other hand, his chronicle is both neutral in tone and very well informed. In addition to his own information, he had access to official documents and to the reports of colleagues.

The *Chronique* survives in two versions. The first, preserved in a single manuscript (Paris, BnF, fr. 2860), is thought to be the version composed by Le Bouvier himself. The remaining 20 manuscripts all transmit a second redaction. The first part 1402–27, is the most original, and was composed at a point when the historical office of St. Denis was not operating. This part was later incorporated into the → *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Sometimes erroneously attributed to Alain Chartier, Le Bouvier's *Chronique* was printed several times in the 16th and 17th century.

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MAUREEN BOULTON

Gilles le Bel

fl. 1370–1403. Low Countries. Author of a universal chronicle in French. The son of the chronicler → Jean le Bel and Marie des Preis, he was related through his mother to → Jean d'Outremeuse. He became canon and cantor of the collegiate church of Sainte-Croix in Liège (modern Belgium).

His *Li Livre de meruelles et notables faits depuis la création du monde* (ca 1403) goes from the creation of the world to 1400. It draws heavily on his father's work, with few original additions apart from occasional details concerning local church affairs; even for contemporary history Gilles contents himself with providing a brief epitome of the most significant events. The chronicle finishes with two pages containing a version of the popular Joachimist "Second Charlemagne" prophecy, in which Gilles predicts that Charles VI will become emperor and join the pope on a crusade to recover the Holy Land. An earlier French version of the prophecy had been composed for Charles's coronation in 1380; but unfortunately for Gilles, the king had been suffering from bouts of madness for a decade and never recovered.

The chronicle survives in just one 15th-century manuscript, Brussels, KBR, 10478–10479. There is no edition.

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PETER DAMIAN-GRINT

Gilles, Nicole

fl. from at least 1474, d.1503. France. Royal notary and secretary and associated with the printer Antoine Vêrard. Author of *Annales et chroniques de France*, a vernacular account of the French monarchy, its Trojan origins and

the kings from Pharamond to Louis XI, compiled from the → *Grandes Chroniques de France* and other sources. Charles VII and Louis XI are treated most fully. RICHE identified the anonymous chronicle in Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 1417 as an autograph of Gilles's work. The first printed edition of 1525 (Galiot du Pré) extends the account to 1519 by borrowing from → Bouchet's *Annales*. Later printings continue to update. This popular chronicle was used among others by Montaigne.

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JENNIFER BRITNELL

Gilo of Toucy

[of Paris]

d. 1142. France. Author of a Latin verse history of the crusades.

A Cluniac monk from Toucy in Auxerre, Gilo became cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, presumably from December 1121. Nothing is known about early period of his life, but probably he was a cleric in Paris before became a monk at Cluny. Between April 1123 and March 1125 Gilo undertook embassies on behalf of Popes Calixtus II to Hungary and Poland (brief references have survived in medieval Polish cartularies). He is known to have authenticated a list of donations made to the Benedictine house of Tyniec in 1105. He also negotiated an agreement with Polish King Boleslaw III Krzywousty about the boundaries of the new diocese of Włocławek, later confirmed by Pope Eugenius III in 1148. Gilo also issued a document from the Carinthian monastery of Arnoldstein, in the diocese of Aquileia (dated 1126). In April 1125 he appears as one of the signatories of privileges given by Honorius II to Cluny. His second mission in 1129 was to the Latin kingdom of

Jerusalem to settle a dispute about the ecclesiastical province of Tyre, claimed as a suffragan see by the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. After return to the West in 1130 Gilo became involved in the schism between Innocent II and Anacletus II, on the latter's side.

Gilo's poem *Historia uie Hierosolimitane* (History of the road to Jerusalem) was composed before 1120. It runs from the siege of Nicaea in 1097 until the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. The text of poem survives in two recensions, in five manuscripts, including Paris, BnF, lat. 5129 and lat. 12945. A sixth manuscript (Charleville, BM, ms. 97) contains, in addition to Gilo's poem also a work of an anonymous poet (formerly known as "Fulco"; lately he is called "Charleville Poet"). Gilo also wrote a Life of St Hugh (probably in 1122), which seems to have been widely read, and was the principal source used by Hildebert of Lavardin.

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PAWEŁ DERECKI

Giovanni da Bazzano

[Iohannes de Bazano]

ca 1285–1363/64. Italy. Born probably in Bazzano, Giovanni moved with his family to Modena, where he studied law and became a notary and financial advisor; around 1310 he married Agnese di Niccolò Barbieri; they had four children. He was a friend and fellow-notary of the other important chronicler of Modena, → Bonifacius de Morano, a codicil to whose will he drew up in 1349.

Giovanni's *Chronicon Mutinense* (Chronicle of Modena) is a typical annalistic chronicle, covering the years 1002–1363. Each year begins with the names of the podestà and their months

of office, followed by other internal and external events, mainly political and military activities, mixed in with references to weather and astronomical phenomena, anecdotes and moral judgments. The main area of interest outside Modena is the Padua region, though there are also frequent references to the Veneto, Tuscany, southern Italy, the Empire, the Church and the crusades.

The earlier part of Giovanni's chronicle is essentially a reworking of the *Chronica circularis* of his friend Bonifacio; other sources include personal eyewitness and oral testimony as well as numerous written documents: public registers from the communal archives, imperial and pontifical dispatches and official letters from other communes, including two letters from Cola di Rienzo, one cited in full. Giovanni writes in the pedestrian, bureaucratic Latin of the period, technical, repetitive and heavily paratactic; occasionally the writing is more complex and very occasionally rises to vividness. The lack of internal cross-references (frequent in Bonifacio) suggests that he worked in a purely cumulative fashion, without a clear plan or structure in mind. Although he accepts the signorial regime, Giovanni's work is not really a court chronicle as he places much less importance on eulogy than on the scrupulous narration of the facts, together with a close interest in the government of the commune. Giovanni da Bazzano's chronicle survives in manuscript Modena, Biblioteca del Collegio S. Carlo, cod. cart. 4.

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PETER DAMIAN-GRINT

Giovanni da Nono

[Iohannes de Nono]

ca 1275–1347. Italy. Notary and author of fanciful chronicles on the origins, topography and leading families of late medieval Padua. Born near

Padua, Giovanni da Nono took his name from his family's ancestral village of Naone west of the city. In 1306 he matriculated in Padua's College of Judges and served intermittently as a judge in the communal government until his death in 1347. He wrote a tripartite work on medieval Padua, sometimes entitled *Liber Ludi Fortune* (Book of the Fortune's game), of which only the second part has been edited.

The very short first part, entitled *De Hedificatione urbis Pataviae* (On the founding of the city of Padua), begins with a mythical description of the founding of Padua before the coming of the Trojan hero Antenor and continues with an account of the war of Dardanus, king of Padua, with the Tartars.

The second part, *Visio Egidii Regis Pataviae* (Vision of Egidius king of Padua), is a report of the vision of the mythic king of Padua, Egidius, in the time of Attila the Hun, but in reality is a conventional example of the medieval description of cities genre. It begins with an account of the gates of Padua, moves on to its walls and buildings, and concludes with a description of the town hall, its environs, and adjacent market squares.

Da Nono's major work is the third part, *Liber de generatione aliquorum civium urbis Padue, tam nobilium, quam ignobilium* (Book of the genealogy of some citizens of the town of Padua, both nobles and commoners), a social history of Padua. Organized into four books in its oldest manuscript, the work treats the major families of the area, beginning with the Este, then older noble families, followed by the most powerful noble clans at the beginning of the Trecento. The largest section contains brief descriptions of over one hundred popolani families, which are often critical of their base origins and especially valuable for their judgments on later cultural leaders, such as the Scrovegni.

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BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Giovanni da Pian del Carpine

[Iohannes de Plano Carpini]

ca 1180–1252. Italy. Franciscan Friar and papal diplomat. Author of a history of the Mongols. He was born in the village of Pian di Carpini (now known as Plano della Magionne) near Perugia. He became a follower and disciple of Francis of Assisi, assuming important responsibilities in the Franciscan order by the early 1200s. He was sent to Germany in the early 1220s and became the Provincial of all Germany in 1228. He may also have been Provincial of Spain for 3 years. He was also active in founding new convents and in sending friars into Dacia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark and Norway.

After the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe, Innocent IV dispatched four separate legations to the Mongols, of which the most important was headed by Giovanni. Carrying two important Papal letters—*Dei Partis immensa* and *Cum non solum*—for the Mongol court. On 22 July 1246 they arrived at the imperial of Sira Ordu, near Karakorum and attended the formal enthronement of Güyük Khan on 12 August 1246. Since they lacked appropriate gifts, as expected by the Mongols, they were not granted a private audience with the Great Khan until November. Giovanni spent the time gathering information about the Mongols and other Asian peoples and became the first European to report on the Chinese civilization. Güyük Khan was displeased with the Papal letters and dictated an uncompromising reply, insisting on the unconditional surrender of the West. The friars were then dismissed and made their way back across Central Asia, returning at Lyon in November 1247.

Shortly after Giovanni's return, Innocent IV sent him as a Papal legate to Louis IX of France. Later, in 1248, he was appointed as Archbishop of Antivari (today, Bari), where he died on 1 August 1252. Sources for his life include the chronicles of → Jordan of Giano and → Salimbene de Adam.

Giovanni's description of the Mongols, *Historia Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*, is a concise, detailed and sober report, inferior to that → William of Rubruck only in its lack of autobiographical details. As the title suggests, he

attempts to correct the inaccurate western habit of referring to the Mongols as Tartars, but this did not stop later readers giving his book the short title *Liber Tartarorum*. Divided into nine chapters on the country, climate, manners, religion, character, history, policy and tactics of the Mongols, and on the countries traversed on the way, it provides advice for western rulers for effective defence against them. The spelling of names and his own remarks indicate that much of his information came from Russian and Nestorian Christians, whom he met on his journey through the Mongol empire. There are two versions; the first, surviving in ten manuscripts, has only the description of Mongolia, while the second, known in four manuscripts, appends a report on Giovanni's journey. The best manuscript is Cambridge, Corpus Christi, ms. 181, which also contains William of Rubruck's account. Giovanni's text is also found summarized in → Vincent of Beauvais', *Speculum Maius*.

A closely related work is the *Ystoria Tartarorum* by the Minorite friar, C. de Bridia; the friar's first name is not recorded, but Bridia may be Brzeg (Brieg) in Poland. It was probably based on Giovanni's lectures.

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DAN GOLDENBERG

Giovanni di Carlo dei Berlinghieri

1428–1503. Italy. Dominican friar, three times prior of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. Author of some little-known hagiographical and harshly anti-Savonarolia n writings, and an even less well known historical work.

The *Libri de Temporibus suis* (Books on his own times) was composed in 1480–2. It is divided into three books, on Cosimo the Elder, Piero the Gouty and Lorenzo the Magnificent respectively. The first book is a defense of Cosimo against the vicious attacks of humanist Francesco → Filelfo.

In fact, the original title of the work was *Libri Cosmianarum rerum*, but the author changed this to the more neutral title in his later dedication to Cristoforo Landino. Giovanni di Carlo's supposed Medicean loyalty needs to be questioned, especially in respect to Lorenzo de' Medici and the narrative of the Pazzi War (1478–80). The *Libri* are rich in first-hand information and sharp observations on Florence's political and cultural life in the 15th century.

→ Machiavelli ransacked the *Libri* in his *Florentine Histories*, so much that some of the most famous quotes attributed to the Secretary are actually translations from the friar's lively Latin. The *Libri de Temporibus suis* are preserved in only one manuscript (Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 5878), which contains some autograph notes by Machiavelli.

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MARCELLO SIMONETTA

Giovanni di Conversino, da Ravenna

1343–1408. Italy. Schoolmaster, humanist, and statesman. Author of a number of treatises on life at the Carrara court in Padua as well as an autobiography and a rather fanciful account of the origins of the Carrara family, all in Latin. Born in Buda where his father Conversino was physician to King Louis of Hungary, Giovanni was brought up in Ravenna and educated in Ferrara and at the universities of Padua and Bologna. Often employed as a schoolmaster, Giovanni served as a notary at the Carrara court from 1379 to 1382 and again, perhaps in the post of chancellor, from 1393 to 1404.

In the 1380s, to gain the patronage of the ruling lord, Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, Giovanni composed his own new account of the origins of the Carrara dynasty, in which he relied more on oral traditions than on chronicle accounts. This short work is an imaginative retelling of older family traditions, that is, legends about the origins of the Carrara dynasty that were circulating at the Carrara court in the 1370s and relied little on the earlier chronicle accounts of the Paduan

commune. It is a tale of the elopement of the daughter of an unnamed medieval emperor with a young knight who established a new home, the Casa Rara, in the Paduan countryside. The runaway couple was eventually reunited with the Emperor, who bestowed on his newly discovered son-in-law the right to rule over Padua. The work is a patently propagandistic attempt to justify the Carrara family's lordship over Padua by linking its origins to an imperial mandate for rule. One of the oldest surviving manuscripts is Venice, Biblioteca Querini-Stampalia, IX, no. 11 (=1006), fol. 6–10^v.

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BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Girardus de Arvernia

[Girard d'Anvers, Girard de Antwerpia]

fl. 1272–88. France. Cleric, later canon, possibly in Auvergne. Wrote a *Historia figuralis* and an *Abbreviatio figuralis historiae*, both Latin world chronicles, the second with particular emphasis on the history of the abbey of Cluny.

The prologue of the *Historia figuralis* states that this chronicle was written by the cleric "Girardus de Antwerpia" with the encouragement of the bishop of Clermont-Ferrand and dedicated in 1272 to Pope Gregory X. It was divided into two parts, the first covering the Creation to the death of the Virgin, and the second planned to continue until 1244. However the only known full-length manuscript (Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 1811) breaks off in the mid-13th century. Another manuscript (Utrecht, UB, ms. 737) only contains Part One, referred to as the *Biblia tabulata*. There are many analogies with → Gerald Frachet's universal chronicle. In the *Historia*, Girardus refers to his own *Flores hystoriarum*, which have not yet been identified. The surviving manuscripts are low-grade and illustrated only with a few figures.

On completion of the *Historia*, Girardus wrote the *Abbreviatio figuralis historiae*, dedicated to Yves de Vergy [de Poison], abbot of Cluny, covering events until 1271, continuing until 1288 in one manuscript (Paris, BnF, lat. 4910). This manuscript names the author as the canon "Girardus de Arvernia"; his obvious links with Clermont support this name. An important milestone in the *Abbreviatio* is the foundation of Cluny, after which much of the focus is on that establishment. The text is framed in most manuscripts by genealogical diagrams in the margins, articulated around reigns of Cluny abbots in the latter part. Five other manuscripts of the *Abbreviatio* are known: Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 3839, vat. lat. 3840, regin. lat. 507, regin. lat. 711A; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1280.

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MARIGOLD ANNE NORBYE

Giselbert of Mons

[Gilbert; Gislebertus Montensis]

ca 1150–1224. Low Countries. Chancellor, diplomatic agent and counsellor of the counts of Hainaut, especially Baldwin V, but also of the marquis of Namur and count of Flanders. Cleric, canon, provost of chapters in Mons, Namur and Maubeuge. Author of the *Chronicon Hanoniense*, written in 1195–6, and of minor historical works.

The *Chronicon Hanoniense* is a History and *Gesta* of the counts of Hainaut in Latin prose from 1070 till 1195. In its coverage from 1168 until December 1195, it focusses on Gilbert's patron Baldwin V, whose deeds are recorded chronologically. Gilbert is a generally well-informed but biased historian, an eyewitness at court from his early years who participated in diplomatic missions as early as 1183. He also uses archival

documents, which he often wrote himself, and testimony of courtiers. His aims are to glorify his late patron's achievements (he also composed an Epitaph for him and his father Baldwin IV), to record his own contribution in these, and to link the Hainaut dynasty to local saints. His interest in genealogical evidence is clearly visible in the charters he wrote. What is at stake is the harsh struggle for supremacy between the Baldwins in Hainaut, who in the 11th century had also been counts of Flanders, and the Alsace dynasty in neighbouring Flanders, and the final triumph of Gilbert's patron, who becomes the founder of the union of three principalities in the Low Countries.

Gilbert is a lively narrator and his work is a unique source for courtly life and gossip, diplomatic practices and politics in the area and time covered by his chronicle. He is a paragon of a successful civil servant of the 12th century, involved in the modernisation of administration (chancery and finances) and in the politics of a blooming principality. All we know about him derives from his own writings, and he is therefore also a perfect example of the rise of self-consciousness in the same century.

Three late manuscripts of the *Chronicon* exist, only one of which is complete: Paris, BnF, lat. 11105 (15th century, originally housed in Sainte-Waudru in Mons). The two others are 18th century Gilbert's work was used by such historians of Hainaut as Jacques de Guise and the author of the → *Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes*, by the author of the *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium* and by several monastic writers of local history.

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THÉRÈSE DE HEMPTINNE

Giustinian, Bernardo

1408–89. Italy. Major Venetian humanist, diplomat and historian. Born into one of the city's most illustrious noble families, the son of statesman Leonardo and nephew of Venice's first patriarch, the blessed Lorenzo Giustinian, Bernardo received a superb humanist education, counting among his teachers, Guarino da Verona, Francesco Filelfo and George of Trebizond. He was

fluent in Italian and Latin, with a fine knowledge of classical Greek. One of his first works was a Latin version of Isocrates' oration to Nicocles, a treatise on the ideal ruler, dedicated to Ludovico Gonzaga of Mantua. Admitted to the Maggior Consiglio in 1427, Bernardo held minor offices in Venice's government and served frequently in the Senate, before embarking on a career as a diplomat. As a result of his rhetorical skills, he was often appointed Venice's ambassador to the crowned heads of Europe, beginning with a speech of welcome to Emperor Frederick III on his descent into Italy in 1452. This was followed by embassies to Ferdinand I of Aragon in 1461–62, Louis XI of France in 1462–63, Paul II in 1466, and Sixtus IV in 1474, each of which resulted in Bernardo's delivering polished Latin orations outlining Venice's policies. Elected to the prestigious office of Procurator of San Marco in 1474, Giustinian devoted the rest of his life to scholarship and public service; he was a frequent but unsuccessful candidate for the office of doge.

His first scholarly work, written in 1471, was a biography of his uncle, the patriarch Lorenzo, *Vita beati Laurentii Iustiniani*, which, imbued with the author's own deep religiosity, provides a window on Venetian religious and civic life in the mid-15th century. It was printed by Jacobus de Rubeis in 1475 (HAIN 9478).

His major historical work, *De origine urbis Venetiarum*, was a study of the first four centuries of Venice's history, from its foundations in 421 to 809, composed in the 1480s and published posthumously. Rich in accurate detail (with many digressions) and founded on careful study of extant written sources, the work interpreted the foundation of the city by liberty-loving nobles as the cause of Venice's current greatness and its right to rule other, lesser peoples. Serving as a sequel to this study of Venice's early centuries, his life of Saint Mark, *De divi Marci evangelistae vita, translatione et sepulturae loco*, focusses on of the discovery of the saint's body in Alexandria in the 9th century, and its later translation and burial in the Venice Basilica. *Editio princeps* of both works: Bernardino Benalio (Venice, 1493, HAIN 9638). An Italian translation of the *Historia dell'origine di Vinegi* by Dominichi was published in 1545.

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BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Glasberger, Nikolaus

pre-1440–1508. Germany, Bohemia. Author of *Chronica Ordinis Minorum Observantium*. Glasberger was raised in Moravia, perhaps in Olomouc, and entered the Franciscan monastery in Amberg in 1472. He studied at the universities in Leipzig (1456–58) and Basel (1475–76). In 1483 he became a confessor of the St. Clara monastery in Nuremberg. He kept company with the contemporary humanists Conrad → Celtis, and Hartmann → Schedel.

For the margrave John of Mantua he copied the chronicle of Přibík → Pulkava of Radenín, which he expanded with reports on religious and political events in the Roman Empire (*Maior chronica Bohemorum moderna*). For this he utilized numerous chronicles and legends about Czech and German saints.

Towards the end of his life, Glasberger created his *opus magnum*, the all-embracing *Chronica Ordinis Minorum Observantium*, ending in the year 1508, which was extended up to 1517 by an anonymous author. This Chronicle is important for the history of the Franciscan Order, in particular in Germany, but also for Church history in general: among other things the author is keenly interested in the papal schism and its solution. Nikolaus made use of the archives in his province, copying numerous letters and other documents that were later lost. In addition, he used a number of other Chronicles such as the → *Chronica XXIV generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, → Jordan of Giano, → Andreas of Regensburg and the legends of Franciscan saints.

In addition to these two Chronicles, Nikolaus is also the author of several prints, such as the *Rosarium b. Francisci* (Nürnberg 1484, one-leaf), and *Trilogium animae* (Nürnberg 1498), and of addenda in the published work of Ludwig von Preussen.

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VÁCLAV BOIK

Glykas, Michael

ca 1130–after 1159. Byzantium. Michael Glykas is one of those Byzantine authors of the 12th century who attempted to compose a traditional universal chronicle. There is some evidence to identify him with Michael Sikidites, who is mentioned in the History of Niketas → Choniates although modern scholars still have some doubts in equating the two characters. Glykas was probably born on the Island of Corfu, and served as a *grammatikos* (secretary) at the court of Emperor Manuel I Komnenus (1143–80) in Constantinople. Because of his participation in the revolt of Theodoros Styppeiotos in 1159 he was lightly blinded and arrested for some years. In prison he wrote a famous poem which demonstrates his ability to use the different levels of style and Greek language. The poem ends with the vernacular language, and therefore it is one of the earliest texts written in demotic Greek.

His universal chronicle, entitled Τοῦ κριτοῦ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Γλυκᾶ Βίβλος χρονική (The Chronicle of the judge Michael Glykas), runs from Creation to the reign of Emperor Alexius I Komnenus (1118). It is dedicated to his son. Its main sources are → Georgios monachos, Ioannes → Skylitzes and Konstantinos → Manasses. In his short introduction Glykas states that brevity in style is the most important criterion for him in composing his chronicle. The text is divided into four sections. The first, which amounts to nearly the half of the whole text, deals only with the Creation, incorporating the author's enormous theological knowledge. The second part deals with the history of the Old Testament and of the Ancient Near East, followed by the history of the Roman Emperors from Julius Caesar up to Constantine I. The Byzantine Emperors are portrayed only with the most important information in chronological order, and some are even omitted.

The text apparently was very popular in Byzantium and afterwards, as more than 30 manuscripts attest. The most important are: Venice, BNM, cod. gr. 402 (13th century); Athos, Μονή Βατοπεδίου, cod. 532 (13th century); Cambridge MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, cod. gr. 4 (14th century); Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, cod. B 53, cod. 102 (F 60) (14th–15th century); Paris, BnF, cod. Coisl. gr. 312 (14th–15th century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. 5. 27 (15th century); Munich, BSB, cod. gr. 152 (ca 1550).

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LARS MARTIN HOFFMANN

Gmünder Chronik

[Gmünder Kaiserchronik]

1376–1414. Germany. Middle High German imperial chronicle. Author and place of origin unknown; client may be the Gmünd town council, to whom the chronicle is dedicated. The text survives in 14 manuscripts (e.g. Heidelberg, UB, cpg 5, 54^r–68^v; full list see GRAF) and in a 1585/86 print by Konrad Dincknut (e.g. Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Inkunabel 288-13-hist-2f-2) as the second part of the *Schwäbische Chronik* of Thomas → Lirer. The chronicle exists in a short and an extended version, the precedence of which is uncertain. The extended version contains many additions, especially anecdotes, but the reference to the town of Gmünd in the prologue is absent. Main sources include the → *Flores temporum* and other Franciscan chronicles, a continuation of the → *Sächsische Weltchronik* from the upper Rhineland, and possibly → Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*.

This is more an imperial than a town chronicle. Gmünd was an imperial free city founded by the Saxonian dukes, who later were emperors, so the town regarded its history as imperial history. The history of the Swabian emperors is particularly highlighted in the chronicle, as are the privileges and rights of the town. The text includes anecdotes, which gives it a certain attraction. Some of these stories concern marriage, and many the conflicts between secular and religious powers. The Popes have the greatest authority on earth, but only to limit the power of the Emperors, and not in competition with them. The chronicler is especially interested in the balance of power. He favours Emperors keeping peace, but is also fascinated by war and feuding. Criticism of force and violence sometimes looks like a disguise for this fascination.

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RALF SCHLECHTWEG-JAHN

Gobelin, Person

[Persona, Persoen; Gobele, Gobelinus]

1358–1421. Germany. Author of a Latin world chronicle. A native of Paderborn, Gobelinus served pope Urban VI loyally at his court from ca 1384. Shortly after 1386 he returned as a priest to Paderborn. His sometimes intransigent reforms led to tensions with the town. His reform of the convent of Böödeken was a personal triumph. Gobelinus also wrote some Latin verse, a music tract, and (in Low German) two saints' lives. He died 17th November 1421.

Gobelin's chronicle *Cosmidromius*, divided into six *aetates*, reveals him as a rationalist who believed in incubi and prophesy (VI,60.70). It falls into two sections. The former (I,1–VI,68), prefaced by premonitions of Judgement Day, combines diverse chronicle material that fits his interests (e.g. the Greek origins of the Saxons, V,11) with interspersed personal reminiscences (e.g. his encounter with incomprehensible "Greek-speaking" Swiss villagers, I,5), and is based partly on lost works (→ *Annales Patherbrunnenses* for 1140–90). The latter (VI,69ff., more than 1/5 of the book) is based, he tells us, on personal eyewitness or reliable reports. For Gobelinus, chronicle-writing is a consolation, if slight, in a turbulent era. Its authority is based on the narrator's visionary synthesis of history from eschatological and astrological as well as political and historical perspectives.

The text survives in two recensions. Version A to 1410: Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, 2° Ms. hist. 67; Bösensell, Haus Ruhr, Hs. Nr.35; version B, to May 1418: Paderborn, Archiv des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, cod.115; Berlin, SB, ms. lat. fol. 943, 58^r–261^v; Leipzig, UB, cod. ms.1317, 1^r–216^v; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, cod.1081, 273^r–423^r. Early editions were by Heinrich Meibom Sr. (Frankfurt 1599) and Heinrich Meibom Jr. (Helmstedt, 1688).

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MICHAEL SHIELDS

Godel, Ps-Guillaume

12th century. France. Traditional name of the author of a Latin universal chronicle (*Chronicon quod dicitur Guillelmi Godel*), known in manuscript Paris, BnF, lat. 4893. It is arranged in four books, the first covering the period from the Creation to the birth of Christ, the second to 591, the third to 1000 and the fourth to 1173.

Under the year 1145 the author states that he is a monk of English birth who used several sources for his chronicle. A later note added at the monastery of Uzerche, where the manuscript

was to be found in the 13th or 14th century, asserts it was the work of one Guillaume Godel, a Benedictine monk of St Martial of Limoges. The text, however, was almost certainly written by a Cistercian monk from Pontigny. Much use is made of → Odorannus of Sens, the → *Chronicon S. Petri Vivi* of Sens (a Benedictine text whose continuators in turn used 'Godel's' text). Under the year 1098 much emphasis is placed on the foundation of the Cistercian order and its famous monks (e.g. Bernard of Clairvaux and Bernardo Paganelli, who became Pope Eugenius III). Under 1164 the author records the visit of Thomas Becket to Pontigny. The 'Godel' chronicle was also to be used by → Robert of St Marianus in Auxerre, who worked extensively in the Pontigny library.

While the attribution to a Guillaume Godel appears unlikely, the author of the text travelled a great deal. He tells us that though he received almost all the orders from Hugues de Toucy, Archbishop of Sens, that the priesthood was later conferred on him by Archbishop Pierre of Bourges and that he officiated at Levroux. It is while he was in this region that he probably used the chronicle of → Petrus Bechini. He travelled to Germany where he was impressed by an old lady, a lay person who knew no Latin but who had marvellous visions. The work also contains several accounts of English history culled from → William of Malmesbury or → Henry of Huntingdon, whose manuscripts he may have consulted in England, though they were available on the continent. It is therefore quite possible that he did go to Limoges, though there is no evidence for this. On the other hand it is odd that a chronicle should be attributed to someone who is otherwise totally unknown, and subsequently scholars have falsely attributed the → *Chronicon S. Martialis Lemovicensis* to him. What is true is that the 'Godel' chronicle shows no interest in St Martial or the Limousin.

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KEITH BATE

Godi, Antonio

d. 1438. Italy. Born in Vicenza in the second half of the 14th century, from the end of the century his name appears in the register of the notaries of the town. Several documents are extant which testify his activity of notary in that city from 1412 till his death on 10 September 1438. Scholars have identified in this notary the Antonio Godi to whom a chronicle begun after 1404 has been attributed by the historiographical tradition of Vicenza since the 15th century. Recently, though, doubts have arisen about its authorship. On the basis of an analysis of the description of the villages surrounding Vicenza, one of the central nuclei of the text, the chronicle has been dated about thirty years later, suggesting that the notary Godi was only the copyist and not the author.

The text is contained in an anonymous codex (Vicenza, Biblioteca civica Bertoliana, 21.10.18), in which the reference to the author was added only later. It starts with the podestaria of Vicenza of Ezzelino I da Romano, from 1183 to 1184, and after a detailed account of Ezzelino III's policy towards Vicenza, it abruptly breaks off at the year 1260, when the tortures inflicted by Alberico da Romano on some Trevisan noblemen are narrated. Instead of the wide geographical horizon including the whole of the March, which was typical of 13th-century chronicles of the area, this chronicle shows an ambit which is limited to the history of Vicenza, and which alone absorbs the interest of the author. Though restricted geographically, the chronicle's historiographical framework is an ambitious one, with the author reconstruing the events of his town from the end of the Padua dominion in 1311 while introducing his work with a short outline of the history of the town. He conceived a summary plan of the history of Vicenza pinpointing two decisive moments: the podestaria of Ezzelino I and the Paduan conquest. However, he was unable to complete his project and the surviving chronicle is little more than a draft.

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VALENTINA DELL'APROVITOLA

Goffredo da Bussero

[Gothofredus de Bussero]

1220–89/1311. Northern Italy. Though of a wealthy aristocratic family of Milan, Goffredo appears to have held only the post of chaplain of the minor church of Rovello Porro in Lombardy.

Goffredo was the author of a number of historical works, the most significant of which is a Latin world chronicle from the time of Christ to 1271. It was thought to be lost, but in the early twentieth century the text of Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. 1218 was identified as his; it had previously been attributed to Filippo da Castelseprio. This *Cronaca*, which is annalistic in form, is remarkably eclectic; much of it focuses on religious matters, particularly saints' lives (it notes innumerable dates of martyrdoms), but Goffredo also gives significant space to political events (popes, emperors, kings and bishops, wars and invasions) and a catch-all of curiosities including not only droughts, earthquakes and comets but also birth or death dates of classical figures such as Pliny and Virgil and modern writers such as Joachim of Fiore, as well as more eccentric matters including monstrous births, witches and wizards, and even dragons and sirens. From the eleventh century onwards the work is largely a chronicle of the Milan region.

However, Goffredo is best known for his *Liber notitiæ sanctorum Mediolani* (Book of reports on the saints of Milan), which he wrote around 1289. Preserved in manuscript Milan, Biblioteca capitolare, II E 2 8 (14th century), it is a historical catalogue of the saints and churches of the diocese of Milan, an extremely valuable source for the church history of the diocese; it gives many details not to be found anywhere else. Goffredo's work is, however, not a chronicle but primarily a preachers' handbook, hence his citations from *vitæ*, legends and passions of the saints, and his frequent references to feast days. Material is occasionally presented in sermon form, with phrases such as *ut sicut habuimus uiuum, habemus et ossa*

or even prayers like *Aue uirgo spetiosa martyr katerina*; when nothing is known about the saint in question, appropriate biblical quotes are provided. The *Liber notitiæ* refers to six other historical works by Goffredo, but there is no other record of their existence.

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PETER DAMIAN-GRINT

Gold, Christian

14th century. Austria. Member of a rich but untitled family of Passau, canon, cellarer, and dean of Mattsee Abbey (Salzburg), priest in Lochen (Upper Austria), died 14th March 1388 at an old age.

Gold was author of the Latin *Annales Matsenses*, a world chronicle spanning from the time of the Nativity up to 1378. The main sources for the narrative are the → *Chronica minor Minoritae Erphordensis*, the → *Flores temporum* and the annals of → Hermann of Niederaltaich. Only the last section (1363–78) of the annals, written in one go after 1378, includes specific local information, even drawing on oral traditions. Gold's obviously good connections to Passau, Salzburg and the local nobility provide additional local knowledge. Gold handled his sources well and independently. He often displays a critical attitude towards his clerical and secular contemporaries, for example when he criticises Bishop Albert of Passau for ruining his bishopric and depicts Duke Rudolph of Austria in harsh words as an enemy of the clergy on account of his tax policy. This criticism reflects monastic awareness and knowledge of the emerging territorial lordships.

The sole manuscript, the *Liber traditionum*, also includes various other historical texts assembled by Gold. It was donated to the Abbey before 1385 and is still in the archive of the house: Mattsee, Stiftsarchiv, Hs 1.

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JAN ULRICH BÜTTNER

Goleniščev Chronicle

5th century. Egypt. A fully-illustrated chronicle in Greek, written in Alexandria on eight papyrus "plates". It unfortunately survives in little more than a pile of broken papyrus chips, which have been analysed and reconstructed by BAUER and STRZYGOWSKI. Their reconstructions are illustrated in a series of plates: plate 1^a: depictions of the Roman months; 1^b: a synchronistic list of Hebrew, Egyptian, and Athenian months; 2^a: islands of the Mediterranean; 2^b: provinces of Asia Minor; 3: list of prophets with captions; 4^a: list of Latin and Roman kings; 4^b: Lacedaemonian kings; 5^a: Macedonian kings; 5^b: Lydian kings; 6: consularia from 383–92 (the largest and most valuable surviving fragment); 7: large fragments with figures, some labelled: Anna, Zechariah, Samuel, Mary, and the infant Christ, along with an angel; and 8: twelve small fragments with a few letters and some figures. This chronicle is most like the → *Excerpta Latina Barbari* in its content. The list of the months suggests an additional chronological compendium as a preface to the chronicle. The fragments were in the private collection of the Russian Egyptologist Vladimir Goleniščev (Golenishchev, d.1947), who obtained them in Giza, though nothing more is known of their origin or provenance. Their present whereabouts are unknown, though the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow obtained Goleniščev's other papyri.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Gomes Eanes de Zurara

1410?–73/4. Portugal. Second Portuguese royal chronicler and keeper of the royal archives. A clergyman's son, he was knighted and protected by Afonso V for whom he worked as a clerk from around 1449, and wrote the *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta*, the *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné*, the *Crónica de D. Pedro de Menezes*, and the *Crónica de D. Duarte de Menezes* at his command. He had no formal education beyond the necessary learning of rhetoric, which he shows off in too frequent quotations and rhetorical flourishes, though the king openly praised his scholarship. His information comes largely from direct testimony, but he also uses written sources. The defective state of the copies creates significant difficulties for editors.

The *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* (Chronicle of the fall of Ceuta, 1449/50) was intended by the king as a continuation of the *Crónica de dom João I* of → Fernão Lopes, but is a detailed account of one political and military event: the conquest of Ceuta, on the African side of the Strait of Gibraltar, by the king and his eldest sons. There are 14 manuscripts, of which the oldest two were used in the main edition: Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, 368 and 355.

The *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné* (Chronicle of the events in Guinea, 1453) has the first account of the Portuguese systematic maritime journeys along the western coast of Africa and the organization of the slave trade accomplished in the author's lifetime. It may have resulted from the combination of two separately devised works: the description of the actual voyages and a memorial for their leader, prince Henrique (Henry the Navigator), after whose death in 1460 additions were made by the author. There are four manuscripts, none original, the oldest being Paris, BnF, port. 42.

The *Crónica de D. Pedro de Menezes* (1458–63) focuses mainly on the constant combats against the Moors to show Pedro, first Portuguese governor of Ceuta, as a hero. Of the seven manuscripts, the oldest is Coimbra, Biblioteca da Universidade, ms. 439.

The *Crónica de D. Duarte de Menezes* (1462–68) follows the same conventional chivalrous pattern of its predecessor, now applied to Pedro's son and successor. Both works respond to the king's political interest in justifying the costly maintenance of Ceuta and belief in enhancing chivalrous and crusading values. The earliest 15th-century man-

uscript, Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, 520 is incomplete; the earliest complete manuscript is Lisbon, BN, ms. 9165.

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TERESA AMADO

Görlitz' älteste Annalen (Oldest chronicle of Görlitz)

1430–4. Germany. This fragment of an anonymous Latin chronicle of Görlitz, the earliest evidence of local historical writing, mainly relates dangers faced by the municipality (rise in prices, flooding, Hussite invasions) and finally the coronation of Emperor Sigismund in 1433. The reports about the campaigns against the Hussites are quite detailed and refer also to the threat to other communities in the Upper Lusatia. The autograph (olim Görlitz, Bibliothek der Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft, L I 262) has been lost since 1945.

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CHRISTIAN SPEER

Görlitzer Ratsannalen (Council annals of Görlitz)

1480–96, 1509–42. Germany. Records in German and Latin by various authors, including Bernhartin Melzer for at least 1490–6 and Johannes Hass for 1509–42. The title *Ratsannalen* was given in the 1841 edition; the original manuscripts (lost since 1945) were innominate. The chronicle deals with the history of the whole Upper Lusatia region (East Germany). Written

in the most prosperous decades of the *League of the Six Cities* (Görlitz, Bautzen, Zittau, Kamenz, Löbau, Lubau) it refers to many aspects of politics, economy, the church/clergy and of the daily life not only in Görlitz. The other towns of the *League* are mainly discussed in connection with disputes (*Straßenzwang*, *Bannmeile/Bierstreit*, *Waidniederlage*) or in cases of collaboration (political decisions, taxes, peacekeeping). The first part of the chronicle, until 1496, is a kind of a sequence of remarkable occurrences, feuds with noblemen, foreign affairs, privileges, notes on problems or the development of Görlitz, the matters of merchants and craftsmen or transcriptions of official letters and charters, while the second part and especially the text since 1521, by Haß, is a unique example of German humanistic historical writing.

See also: → *Landshuter Ratschronik*, → *Lübecker Ratschronik*, → *Münchener Ratsprotokolle* and → *Zerbster Ratschronik*.

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CHRISTIAN SPEER

Goslarer Stiftschronik [Chronik des Stiftes SS. Simon und Judas in Goslar; Chronicon Goslariense]

13th century. Northern Germany. The anonymous Low German imperial chronicle was originally written about 1294 at the Goslar Imperial collegiate church, which was closely connected with the nearby Imperial palace founded by emperor Henry II. In the 11th–13th century, the Imperial free town was one of the most important seats of the German monarchy. Although the entries of the *Stiftschronik* are limited in scope, it is nevertheless an important source due to the scarcity of chronicles surviving from Goslar's heyday. Running from the reign of Konrad I (d. 918), it is obviously structured according to an older list of the emperors and depends on a more detailed but lost Latin Imperial chronicle which in turn made broad use of the documents of the collegiate church. Other sources could have been the → *Sächsische Weltchronik* or the → *Annales Palidenses*. Special attention is paid to Henry I,

Henry III and Henry IV, Frederick Barbarossa, Rudolph of Habsburg and Adolph of Nassau. Generally structured as an Imperial chronicle, it mostly recounts to historical events of the vicinity. The scanty entries are dominated by the deeds of the kings in and around Goslar and their donations to the foundation, but are not always reliable.

Obviously inspired by the renewed interest in important relics, the chronicle is prefaced by a long and detailed relic catalogue and a sermon on the occasion of their public exhibition promising 1,932 years and 1,380 days of indulgence (*aflat*). Enumerating such prominent pieces as the head of St. Andrew or an arm of St. Bartholomew is clearly meant to underline the great wealth and the importance of the foundation and of their princely and papal donors. To counter any claims that the Goslar collegiate church (founded in 1050) lacked antiquity, the chronicle reports the legendary foundation of a collegiate church at the near Harzburg by Konrad I in the early 10th century, claiming that it was later translated to St. Simon and Judas, thus giving the Goslar establishment nearly 150 additional years of tradition.

The *Stiftschronik* only survives in two shorter Low German copies from the 15th century (Hanover, LB, cod. xxi 1209 fol.; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 20.10 Aug. 4^o). The edition of 1877 also includes a two-page fragment of a shorter Latin version, which Wieland named *Chronicon SS. Simonis et Iudae Goslariense*, known in a 13th–15th century manuscript at the Goslar town archive (Domstift Kopalbuch A). This was written not before 1144 and partly overlaps with the German text. The two versions together testify to the existence of a larger but lost original Latin *Chronicon Goslariense deperditum*.

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THOMAS SCHAUERTE

Goswin of Marienberg

14th century. Austria. Benedictine monk and historian, author of the Latin *Registrum monasterii Montis sancti Marie*. What we know of his life comes from his own works: Goswin was ordained

a priest in 1349, and later he became prior of the Abbey of Marienberg in South Tyrol. In 1374 he was appointed chaplain by the Austrian Duke Leopold III. He died after 1393. Goswin produced an extensive corpus of written works. Besides his historical works, he produced important musical manuscripts and *Urbarien* (land records). His work also includes a series of copies of charters, a register and a calendar.

Goswin's main work is the *Registrum monasterii Montis sancti Marie*, a chronicle of the history of the abbey from its beginnings in ca 1100 to 1393. It reports on the foundation of the abbey at Scuol (in lower Engadin) and its relocation to Marienberg in about 1150. It deals with the rule of several abbots and the accumulation of the rights and possessions of the monastery. Charters by popes and sovereigns are inserted, as are schedules and agreements of fraternisation. Goswin's aims were to record the possessions and the rights of the abbey inviolably by the faithful archiving of documentary evidence. With these documents the chronicle contains extremely important material on the history of Tirol and Graubünden. It survives in a manuscript which is preserved on its own in a casket at the Marienberg Stiftsarchiv.

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CHRISTINA ABT

Gottfried of Viterbo

[Godefridus, Gotifridus, Gotifredus Viterbiensis]

1125–1202 or later. Germany, Italy. Author of several works on world history: *Speculum Regum*; *Memoria Seculorum seu Liber Memorialis*; *Liber Universalis*, containing the *Gesta Frederici*; and the *Pantheon*, his last and most outstanding work, containing the *Gesta Heinrici VI*.

Gottfried was most probably a member of a German family, whose court or military service may have provided them with allodial property at Viterbo in Italy. The family established a palatium there and presented it to Frederick I

Barbarossa, who granted them a privilege on the property in 1169. Gottfried's studies began at the elite cathedral school at Bamberg in about 1133 on the advice of the emperor Lothar III of Supplinburg. His service as court chaplain and notary commenced under Konrad III Hohenstaufen and continued during the reigns of Frederick I and Henry VI. Within his works, Gottfried refers to himself *magister*, *capellanus* and *notarius* at the imperial court.

Studies comparing documents produced in the chancellery of Frederick I with the autographs of his historical works, focussing on chirography, formulae and stereotypes, wording, and (especially) mistakes caused by dyslexia, have established Gottfried's identity with the scribe provisionally named A(rnold) II.C. The style of the documents suggests that Gottfried was instructed or was employed at the papal chancellery before his professional career at the Hohenstaufen court. A few documents indicate that he further acted for the curial chancellery on rare occasions.

Due to his position he participated in a large number of diplomatic journeys and political delegations and also signed as a witness in documents. He was able to report on many political incidents he attended as an eyewitness, such as the Treaty of Konstanz between Pope Eugen III and the Emperor in 1153 and its renewal two years later (at which he testified as a clerical witness), the meeting of Frederick I with the French king Louis VII at St.-Jean-de-Losne in 1162, and the coronation of Frederick king of Burgundy at Arles in 1178.

Details reported in his works as well as in official documents show Gottfried as a participant in all of Frederick's five campaigns in Italy (1154–55, 1158–62, 1163–64, 1166–68, 1174–78). During the first campaign, Gottfried took part in the composition of the first constitution on allodial property at Roncaglia in December 1154 and that of the *authentica habita* in favour of the members of the early universities.

Gottfried is mentioned as a witness by several documents, as *capellanus* and provost at Frankfurt, and as *canonicus* at Speyer and Mainz. Documents of the years 1177 and 1178 indicate that he was *canonicus* at Pisa and at Lucca. His name occurs for the last time in an official document in June 1186 in Italy.

Gottfried's career as an author of historical works started late in life, possibly in his fifties, after he had, in his own words, visited many libraries

and collected a large quantity of diverse information, reports and materials while travelling on court service for the Hohenstaufen. Alongside his most common source, the Bible or → Isidore's *Chronicon Maius*, Gottfried must have used a wide range of material, most of which seems to be lost. The texts reveal some of Gottfried's sources without his identifying them, and by contrast, lists of references and authorities are named by Gottfried without their influence being obvious within his texts.

The *Speculum Regum* was finished in 1183. This first attempt at historical writing consists of two books containing 674 and 779 verses respectively. It is dedicated to the young king Henry VI, whom Gottfried probably educated personally. Instruction is given by historical example and descent, which should lead to *imitatio*. Two lines of genealogy from the beginning of the world and from Troy to Rome and the kings of the Franks converge in the figure of Charlemagne. Thus the Hohenstaufen Henry VI is justified as an heir to a throne ordained by God and by law. The prose introduction, which may have been designed as a table of contents, lists a catalogue of emperors up to Henry VI and a catalogue of popes. Twelve manuscripts in total are known, grouped in three branches of a stemma. Only one manuscript (Paris, BnF, Nouv. Acq. lat. 299) contains the *Denominatio Regnorum Imperio Subiectorum*, an interpolation of topographic description of the areas and towns belonging to the Empire during the time of the Emperor Frederick I, some of which Gottfried would have seen himself.

In 1185, Gottfried revised the *Speculum Regum* and renamed it *Memoria Seculorum seu Liber Memorialis*. This work consists of fourteen particulae in hexameter verses and maintains the concept of world history. The content of biblical and secular history, originating in the *Speculum* as all of Gottfried's further works do, was extended and continued up to the reign of Konrad III. As well as the dedication to Henry VI, the introduction states the dual purposes of education and the diversion of the reader through historical examples.

Another still unpublished reformulation of the work is found in the *Liber Memorialis*. Gottfried changed the dedication by not only addressing Henry VI, whom he had already called Emperor in the *Memoria Seculorum* (though in fact he was only king), but also the German princes. As announced in the new introduction, prose isogogae were added, highlighting the particulae of this

new version. Neither the first one nor the later *opus mixtum* was published. Manuscripts: Paris, BnF, cod. lat. 4896; Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Ville, cod. 222.

Probably another two years later, in 1187, Gottfried revised, changed and extended his work again, for example by including information taken from → Otto of Freising's *Chronica*. Now he changed the name to *Liber Universalis* in the intitutatio, but wrote of it already as *Pantheon* within the text itself, highlighting its purpose as a compendium of world history. This stage of the development of the work, known as Recension B, is the first to contain an account of Gottfried's own time, the *Gesta Friderici*, which had been announced in the *Memoria Saeculorum* and in the *Liber Memorialis* already, but not included in the manuscripts. The *Gesta Friderici* close the general arrangement of now twenty particulae and cover the time from 1155 until 1180 and refer to the occurrences in Italy, the beginning of the schism and the fall of Henry the Lion. Information is drawn from the *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris* by Otto of Freising and → Rahewin as well as from Gottfried's own experience. Although this version of the text as a whole was not published, a new dedication addresses both Pope Gregory VIII and Henry VI as king. There are two manuscripts: Paris, BnF, cod. lat. 4894 in many parts is an autograph of Gottfried, but the last parts are missing; and Munich, BSB, clm 43 is a later copy.

Finally, Gottfried himself published another revised version of the text as *Pantheon*, probably in 1187. It was dedicated to Pope Urban III. This version is usually identified as recension C. Twenty particulae present the topics in alternating prose and verse passages. A second version of the *Pantheon* (D) seems to be close to the text of the first one, though it contains many additions; it is dedicated to pope Gregory VIII, was finished under Clement III, and remained unpublished.

The third version (E), was finished in 1191, and is supposed to have been published by Gottfried at Viterbo after having restructured the text again, finally dividing it into 34 particulae. Introductory indices list the particulae and are followed by the dedicational proem to Gregor VIII. The arrangements of particulae contain theology and philosophy, followed by alternating presentations of biblical and secular history up to Gottfried's own time and concluded by additions and a closing poem.

Three manuscripts of the second version (D) contain the *Gesta Heinrici VI*, which had been unpublished until then. They cover the occurrences between 1189 and 1198 in Italy and end with the death of Markward of Annweiler at Sicily in 1202. Gottfried's authorship of the verses in iambic septameters (*Vagantenstrophen*) is subject to debate.

The general aspiration of providing the reader with both education and diversion at the same time seems to be taken into account by the author in several ways. Gottfried not only developed a prosimetric style including a unique verse technique of a tristichon of two hexameter verses followed by one pentameter. He was also the first writer of Latin chronicles to combine historical information taken from a broad variety of written sources with reports from occurrences he had personally witnessed and elements of myths, legends, tales, fables and stories taken from narrative sources. The amalgamation of different types of text and the intermingling of sacred and profane history suggests a rather imprecise conception of historical writing. Nevertheless, it was widely read, as more than 40 manuscripts of the *Pantheon*, continuations and the quotation in subsequent texts imply.

The *Pantheon* had an enormous influence on later medieval historical writing. Among the chroniclers who used it either as a source of information or as an inspiration for their method were: → Adam of Usk, Flavio → Biondo, Giovanni → Colonna, → Geoffrey of Collion, → Hermann of Niederaltaich, → Lorenzo de Monacis, → Peter of Eboli, → Ptolemy of Lucca, → Rudolf von Ems, → Siegfried of Ballhausen, → Simon of Kéza and Heinrich → Steinhöwel, and the authors of the → *Annales Palidenses*, the → *Christherre-Chronik*, the → *Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*, the → *General estoria* and the → *Konstanzer Weltchronik*.

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SIMONE FINKELE

Gottschalk of Gembloux [Godescalcus Gemblacensis]

d. after 1136. Low Countries. Benedictine monk in Gembloux (Brabant). Disciple of → Sigebert of Gembloux and author of the continuation of the *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium* as well as of a small number of texts in verse.

The *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium* had been started by Sigebert in the 1070–80s. While it is difficult to distinguish between Sigebert's and Gottschalk's authorship of the *Gesta*, historians traditionally place the transition between their parts in the description of Mysach's abbacy and attribute to Gottschalk the history of the last four abbacies, written at Gembloux in several phases between 1130 and 1140. Recently however, LICHT has argued that Gottschalk's work comprises only the descriptions of the last three abbacies (of Tietmar, Liethard and Anselm, covering the period between ca 1072 and 1136) and that it was written between 1136 and 1154. Gottschalk based his work on his own experiences, on what he heard from others and on authentic documents. His vivid account bears witness to the acquisition politics of the cloister and provides important information on Sigebert's life and works. It is found in Leipzig, UB, Rep. II 68, fol. 40^v–57^v.

Gottschalk's admiration for Sigebert is also apparent in his verse *Epitaphium Sigeberti Gemblacensis*, included in the *Gesta* together with three other small texts (a short dialogue poem between the author and *Aecclesia*, a verse etymological explanation of 'Gemblus' and a notice on the acquisitions made by abbot Anselm). His *Panegyricus libellus de abbatibus Gemblacensibus*, added to the *Gesta* in the Leipzig manuscript (fol. 58^r–61^v), is often considered as a separate text.

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SARA MOENS

Goutsch Cronijxcken [Historien van Hollant]

ca 1440. Low Countries. Anonymous prose chronicle in Middle-Dutch of the history of Holland from its origins to 1436. The chronicle was severely criticised by Petrus Scriverius (1576–1660) because of the unbridled imagination of its main author. Because of Scriverius' edition, published posthumously in 1663 as *Het oude Goutsche Chronycxken*, the text is still generally—but misleadingly—known as the *Goudse kroniekje*. The town of Gouda does not play any specific role, neither in its contents, nor as a place of origin.

At first sight, the *Historien van Hollant* could be regarded as a brief and traditional account of the history of Holland from its origins to 1436. A closer look, however, reveals that this work witnesses a new way of looking at the past. In the first place, more than half of the text is devoted to the history before 1200, whereas its predecessors were forced to be brief on that period by the lack of sources. His enlargement of the county's history follows partly from the use of → Heraut Beyerens' *Wereldkroniek*, bringing the well-known stories of Trojans, Julius Caesar and King Arthur into the regional history, but also, for an important part, from the creative interpretation of material sources, such as topography, buildings and the landscape. The chronicle is mainly focussed on the county itself, rather than on the dynasty. According to his own words in the prologue, the author intended to "describe the country's first inhabitants, the city founders and the way in which the towns received their names". This urban orientation is continued in the latter part of the chronicle. A remarkable sympathetic

treatment of the town of Delft makes it likely that the author lived there.

The original version has been preserved in four manuscripts, three of which are dated in a colophon (Leiden, UB, BPL 136d was written in 1463, Utrecht, UB, 1179 in 1467, Utrecht, UB, 1180 in 1483). A slightly revised version already circulated shortly after the middle of the 15th century. In 1456 a second author added some short stories on the two decades after 1436. In the 1470s a third author gives his account of Charles the Bold's wars and its repercussions for the county of Holland. The revised text, including the two continuations, was printed in Gouda in 1478 by Gerard Leeu and again in 1482. In this form it became an important source for the history of Holland in the later 15th and 16th centuries. Judging by the extant manuscripts and printed copies, it was a very popular text. This popularity should be only partly attributed to the vivid stories it contains. Brevity and comprehensiveness were important qualities too. A critical edition by A. JANSE is in preparation.

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ANTHEUN JANSE

Gower, John

ca 1330–1408. England. A London landowner and squire, and a major 14th-century poet in Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English, whose major works include the *Mirour de l'omme* (also called *Speculum Meditantis* or *Speculum Hominis*), the *Confessio Amantis* and the *Cinkante Balades*, as well as two historical works, both in Latin: *Vox Clamantis* and *Cronica Tripertita*. The 385-line English poem "In Praise of Peace," addressed to Henry IV also has some historical relevance.

Focussing on the evils of 14th-century society, Gower's Latin *Vox Clamantis* (ca 1378–81),

expressing many of the same moral concerns found in Gower's Anglo-Norman *Mirour de l'omme* and his English *Confessio Amantis*, comprises 10,265 lines, divided into seven books. Originally dedicated to Richard II, it was twice revised and rededicated to Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury. Book I, composed last, is of historical value for its allegorical account of the Peasants' Revolt (1381).

The *Cronica Tripartita* (ca 1400), Gower's sequel to the *Vox*, is significant for its selective account of events from 1387–99. Its 1062 lines of Latin leonine hexameter focus on the demise of Richard II and on Henry IV's accession. The first two parts, couched with heraldic symbolism, recount the conflict between Richard II (the sun), and Richard, Earl of Arundel (the horse), Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (the swan), and Thomas, Earl of Warwick (the bear) in 1387 and 1397. The final part deals directly with Richard's deposition and Henry IV's accession and is visibly biased towards Henry, the Lancastrian monarch, assigning Richard's fall to providence.

Arguably the best manuscript of both texts is Oxford, All Souls' College, ms. 98; containing a unique dedication to Archbishop Arundel, it appears to have been produced under Gower's supervision for the archbishop.

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SARAH L. PEVERLEY

Gran conquista de Ultramar [Great conquest of Outremer]

ca 1289–95. Castile (Iberia). Castilian crusade chronicle compiled of translations of several French and Provençal works. It covers events in the Holy Land from 1095 to 1271/75 with a preamble devoted to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius I as proto-crusader. Although the title *Gran conquista de Ultramar* is well-known, other titles

found in the manuscripts themselves—*Grant estoria de Ultramar* or *Estoria mayor de Ultramar* (Great history of Outremer)—better suit the chronicle's strategy and difference from other more restricted histories, such as the *Estoria de Gerusalem abreviada* (Abridged history of Jerusalem). In fact, the main aim of the *Gran Conquista* is to give a complete account of all facts about Outremer.

With this motivation, several works were translated from French or Provençal and combined in one single narrative. The *Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquete de la terre d'Outremer* (History of the emperor Heraclius and the conquest of Outremer), a translation of → William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, provided the compilers with a coherent framework to include prosifications of the first French crusade cycle (*Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, Chevalier au Cygne, Enfances Godefroi*, → *Chanson d'Antioche, Chétifs, Chanson de Jérusalem*), the Provençal → *Canso d'Antiocha* and other sources not yet known.

Although the *Gran Conquista* is traditionally attributed to → Alfonso X, contemporary research has shown that his successor Sancho IV (1284–95) was responsible for the gathering of materials, control of translation, and assessment of the compilatory process. The colophon of the oldest surviving manuscript (Madrid, BNE, ms. 1187) attributes authorship to this king. In fact, this manuscript is the third and last volume of the royal codex, with only two miniatures, probably due to Sancho IV's death in April 25, 1295. The *Gran Conquista* recounts the deeds of a heroic lineage, from the Knight of the Swan and the conquest of the Holy Land by his grandson Godfrey of Boulogne to the final territorial and moral defeat. The chronicle was thus an instrument to explore the limits of legitimate authority, a most important issue in Sancho IV's court.

Three other manuscripts (Madrid, BNE, ms. 1920, BNE, ms. 2454 and Salamanca, BU, ms. 1698) contain fragmentary versions of the *Gran Conquista*. The *editio princeps* was by Hans Giesser (Salamanca, 1503). This edition, with formal features of the so-called chivalry genre, has been most influential on literary historians' interpretations of the work. The mixture of historical writing (William of Tyre) and fiction (epic cycle) has generally been misunderstood in favour of the latter.

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CESAR DOMÍNGUEZ PRIETO

Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI

14th century. Castile (Iberia). An anonymous extended account of the reign of the eponymous king, Alfonso XI, king of Castile and León, based mainly on Fernán → Sánchez de Valladolid's *Crónica de Alfonso XI*.

The fortuitous discovery of the Paris manuscript of the *Gran crónica* allowed Diego CATALÁN to reconstruct its complex relationship to Sánchez de Valladolid's *Crónica*. The *Gran Crónica* was composed around 1376–9, at the end of the reign of Enrique II, at the same time that two of the manuscripts of the *Crónica de Alfonso XI* were copied.

It adds 30% new material compared to the shorter version, taken from the *Poema* of Rodrigo → Yáñez, but also omits information that appeared in the *Crónica*. These additions or omissions create a narrative tension between two incompatible historical perspectives. The new point of view relates to the historical circumstances in which the *Gran Crónica* was composed. Whereas the *Crónica* was

composed in Alfonso's court, filled with urban knights and letrados, where the old nobility was alienated, Enrique's court was inhabited by a new nobility which came to power thanks to the concessions of the new king. It is the desire to satisfy the needs of this new audience that explains the introduction of aristocratic values in the *Gran crónica de Alfonso XI*.

However, the introduction goes beyond a mere desire to please, and transforms the *Gran crónica* into a collection of examples of these aristocratic values. With them, the carefully crafted plot lines of the *Crónica* are altered. Thus, the longer chronicle presents an alternative interpretation of Alfonso's kingdom, less in favour of a monarchy based on the principles of Roman law and more in harmony with traditional models of shared governance of the realm between king and nobility.

The principal manuscripts are Madrid, BNE, ms. 1015 and Paris, BnF, esp. 329.

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PURIFICACIÓN MARTÍNEZ

Grande Chronique de Normandie

ca 1350. France. Anonymous Middle French text from Normandy (Rouen ?) containing the history of the Dukes of Normandy (and, consequently, from 1066, of the Kings of England) from Rollo until the future Louis VIII of France's failed attempt to conquer England (1216–17).

Its main source is the 13th-century → *Chroniques de Normandie*, which in turn are based on → William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*. For the period until 1106, the author completed his account with material from → Wace's *Roman de Rou* and, to a lesser extent, from → Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* and → Robert of Torigni's version of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*. For events after that date, he borrowed from → Roger

of Howden, Benedict of Peterborough and the → *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*.

Two versions of the text have survived: B (32 manuscripts, e.g. Paris, BnF, fr. 5388) includes two introductory chapters lacking in A (11 manuscripts, e.g. BnF, fr. 11901). Five late 15th-century copies of version B (e.g. BnF, fr. 5390) preserve a continuation until 1422, which formed the base for the edition of Guillaume Le Talleur (Rouen, May 1487). There is no critical edition.

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FLORENT NOIRFALISE

Grandes Chroniques de France (Great Chronicles of France) [Chroniques de Saint-Denis]

13th–15th century. France. A royal compilation of national history, written in French, running to ten volumes in the modern edition, surviving in some 130 often richly illustrated manuscripts and covering the Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian dynasties of French kings. The work began as a compilation of translations of texts written centuries before the reign of St. Louis, who, when he took possession of the work in the 13th century, wished to preserve carefully the history of the Franks from the coming of the Trojans to his own time. Continued under his successors, first at St. Denis and then at the court in Paris, the *Grandes Chroniques* assumed their final form in 1461, concluding with the tumultuous reign of Philippe VI de Valois (d.1350). The compilation remains a valuable historical source, but only when read through an optic that takes account of Louis XI's political ideology.

For the period covering the time before Louis IX, compilers relied on Latin works, French translations, and redactions. One of the most important of these works is the *Historia Francorum* of → Aimon of Fleury and its continuation, the → *Historia Francorum Senonensis*. In the 12th

century, a monk from Saint-Germain-des-Près, brought Aimon's narrative up to the birth of Philippe-Auguste (1165). Meanwhile the chronicle of → Adémar of Chabannes, also called *Historia Francorum*, was added to the pool of material. Then in the early 13th century, now in the abbey of St. Denis, the collection was expanded into a history of France from the beginnings to the death of Louis VI the Fat. Fifty years later, also at St. Denis, another history, this time from the origins of France to the death of Philippe Auguste (1223) was written. Gathering these chronologically overlapping texts often resulted in the inclusion of varying accounts of the same events.

When, later in the 13th century, work on the chronicles became centred solidly in the abbey of St. Denis, whose monks had become the official historiographers to the French kings, events began to be recorded not from ancient texts but from living memory, so that for the first time the work was more than a compilation of sources. It was at St. Denis that the now voluminous compilation of translations and original French compositions was given the title *Grandes Chroniques de France*. The first compilation to bear this title was made by → Primat of St. Denis, possibly under the supervision of his abbot, Matthew of Vendôme. In 1274, four years after the death of Louis in Tunis, Primat delivered the finished work to the king, Philippe III. His text was copied around 1300 and then again in 1320. With each copy, additions and continuations were made. A short life of Louis composed by a monk at St. Denis around 1285 was translated and added. Continuator also added translations of the work of → Guillaume de Nangis, the monastery's archivist 1285–1300, and made use of → Gerald Frachet, whose work in turn was continued by Richard → Lescot, another St. Denis historian active in the mid-14th century.

Dissemination of the text began slowly: after 75 years, only a few dozen manuscripts were extant, and in the hands of a rather diverse readership: the king of France, a count, the bishop of Cambrai, and a certain Pierre Honoré of Neufchâtel-en-Bray. However, with the rise of young Lescot, a flurry of continuations occurred during the years 1340–60, including the addition of saints' lives from various church libraries. For the period after 1344, however, the text is largely original, as can be seen in episodes like the capture of Caen by Edward III of England. It was under the supervision of Lescot that numerous passages were also

retranslated and reworked, including texts by Primat and Guillaume de Nangis. Although Lescot lived until the end of the 14th century, the monks of St. Denis moved on to other projects after 1360. Further work on the *Grandes Chroniques* tended to elevate its status rather than amplify its contents.

Charles V did not use the monks of St. Denis for his biography or for that his father (Jean le Bon). He called on his chancellor Pierre d'Orgemont who wrote (or commissioned) a dry account of the reign. The last version from St. Denis (up to 1350) was recopied by Raoulet d'Orléans and lavishly illustrated with the addition of Orgemont's account to 1379. There was then another addition for 1379 and 1380 to which were added the works of Jean → Juvénal des Ursins (1380–1402) and the → Gilles de Bouvier for 1402–22. The final addition was Jean → Chartier's account of Charles VII.

The *Grandes Chroniques* survive in some 130 manuscripts with varying illustrative programmes [Fig. 32, 49, 50, 51]. An important group of beautifully illustrated manuscripts is associated with the Parisian bookseller and publisher, Thomas de Maubeuge (fl. 1313–49), all produced for royal or aristocratic clients (Brussels, KBR 5; Castres, BM, unnumbered; Grenoble, BM, 407 Res). HEDEMAN has compiled a chronological list of manuscripts, from the earliest (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 782, ca 1274) through those produced in the 15th and 16th century, plus an extensive catalogue of illuminated manuscripts. The *editio princeps* followed in 1477 by Pasquier Bonhomme (3 vols), the first book to be printed in Paris. By this time Louis XI had moved the official chronicles to Saint Martin-des-Champs where he had appointed Jean → Castel as official chronicler. The *Chroniques* were used as their main historical source by following generations and are still important today.

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DANIEL E. O'SULLIVAN

Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae (Germ of a catalogue of the bishops of Moravia)

ca 1435–50. Moravia (modern Czechia). This anonymous Latin prose chronicle was probably written by a scribe from the Olomouc chapter. The chronicle includes the history of the bishops of Olomouc (Moravia) from their beginnings to the investiture of Bishop Paul of Miličín in 1435. The actual history is preceded by a story about the activities of St. Cyril and St. Methodius in Great Moravia. The author of the chronicle is very critical of certain bishops; his criticism, often unjust, is targeted particularly at the bishops and keepers of the diocese in the decade preceding the Hussite Revolution: John V. Bavor (1199–1201), John XI. Mráz (1397–1403), Conrad of Vechta (1408–13) and Wenceslaus Králík of Buřnice (1413–6). The main sources were the necrology of a church in Olomouc, the Moravian Legend of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, Cosmas of Prague, the → *Annales Gradicensis et Opatovicenses*, documents from the archive of the Olomouc chapter and, less probably, other chronicles.

The bulk of the text survives in the manuscript of the Olomouc chapter, which originates from the 12th century; the manuscript is currently stored in the Olomouc branch of the Land Archive in Opava, Zemský archiv Opava, MCO, nr. 205, fol. 202^{vb}–205^{vb}. The folio with the end of the chronicle text has been removed from the manuscript and is currently stored in the Moravian State Archive in Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, G 2, sign. 740/8–1. The *Granum catalogi* was the basis for the chronicle of → Augustine of Olomouc.

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PAVEL KRAFL

Gravenregister

1125–44. Low Countries. A short Latin chronicle of the counts of Holland 860–1121, made in the Benedictine abbey of Egmond. Its nucleus, written in 1125–30, was augmented before 1144 with texts mostly concerning the gifts of the counts to the convent. These additions were taken from various sources, such as the 10th-century *Vita* of the monastery's patron St. Adalbertus, lists of the abbey's possessions and the → *Annales Egmondenses*. Perhaps in the second half of the 12th century a few corrections were added. The *Gravenregister* is handed down in the Egmond cartulary, written ca 1420 (Haarlem, Regionaal archief Noord-Holland, Archief van Egmond, nr. 3, fol. 4–6) and in another Egmond copy from ca 1520 (Leiden, UB, Ltk. 611, fol. 114–116).

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JAN BURGERS

Gray, Thomas, of Heton

ca 1272–1363. England. Northumbrian knight and chronicler. Sir Thomas Gray was the warden of Norham Castle when, in 1355, he was captured by the Scots during a minor skirmish. Imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for at least a year, he was sur-

prised to learn how little he knew about British history and resolved to collect sources in Latin, French and English and to render them in concise prose.

His Anglo-Norman chronicle, the *Scalacronica*, begins with the Trojan war and ends with the marriage of David, king of Scots, to Margaret de Logie in 1363. The prologue to the *Scalacronica* identifies the author both through his heraldic device and a simple acrostic poem. It also includes an elaborate dream vision in which the chronicler is led through a garden by the Sybill. He is invited to climb a scaling ladder (from which the work takes its title); and as he ascends each rung, he sees one of his major sources: Walter of Oxford (the supposed British source of → Geoffrey of Monmouth), → Bede, → Ranulf Higden and → John of Tynemouth. The text is indeed indebted to these chroniclers, though they are used in a much more integrated manner than the prologue implies. Gray also draws on a wide variety of material to augment his accounts of Troy, Alexander, Arthur, and others. Eyewitness accounts supplement the later sections, as both Gray and his father figure prominently in the campaigns of Edward III.

The text survives in a unique manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 133) which is complete except for one lacuna which, unfortunately, covers the years of Gray's captivity. The manuscript is almost certainly a family volume which entered the library of the Earls of Kildare when Gray's granddaughter, Agnes Darcy, married Gerald Fitz Morice, Earl of Kildare, in 1397. It has not been edited in its entirety.

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RICHARD MOLL

Graystones, Robert

d. 1334. England. Benedictine monk at Durham Cathedral Priory and possible author of a *Historia de statu ecclesiae Dunelmensis*. Grays-

stones, or Greystones, was ordained subdeacon 1307; subsequently he was Bachelor and Doctor of Theology at Oxford (1315, 1333) and subprior at Durham (1333). He was consecrated bishop in 1333 but stepped down in favour of the royally-selected and papally-approved Richard of Bury (as reported in chapters 49 and 50 of the *Historia*).

The *Historia* extends → Geoffrey of Coldingham's chronicle from 1213 to 1334. Like Geoffrey's chronicle, the *Historia* concentrates on local affairs. The attribution to Graystones, first made by Henry Wharton (*Anglia Sacra*, 1691), has neither been confirmed nor disproved. Manuscripts: York, Minster Library, ms. XVII.12, fols. 183–225^v (early 14th century); BL, Cotton Titus ms. A.ii, fols. 86^r–126^v (mid-14th century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Fairfax 6 (SC 3886), fols. 132–83 (1350–1400); Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud misc. 700 (SC 1579) (14th century); BL, Lansdowne ms. 207, fol. 434^r (chapter 44 only, 1638/9).

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MICHAEL TWOMEY

Greenwell, John

15th century. England. Abbot of Fountains Abbey near Ripon in Yorkshire, 1442–71. Presumed author of the Latin *Chronicle of the Abbots of Fountains*, which begins in 1132 with the founding of the Cistercian abbey in Studley Royal by Thurston, Archbishop of York and extends to Greenwell's appointment in 1442. The only complete record of the early abbots of Fountains, it draws on the chronicle of → Hugh of Kirkstall, a psalter that was a source of obituaries, inscriptions on monuments in the church and chapter house, and an unknown *cronica* of a Robert Thornton, presumably the abbot of Fountains (d. 1306) and not the better-known Yorkshire Middle English manuscript, Lincoln, Cathedral Library, ms. 91. WALBRAN based his edition upon the 15th-century *President Booke of ye Abbey of ffountaines*, which, with its digest of the abbey's records, must have been compiled as a reference

book for abbots. DAVIS indicates that in 1958 the manuscript was in the private collection of G.C. VYNER of Studley Royal, but it does not appear to be among the Fountains manuscripts in the Henry Vyner collection purchased by the British Library in 1981 (BL, add. 62129–32, 62132A).

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Gregoras, Nikephoros

ca 1295–ca 1360. Byzantium. A famous Byzantine erudite, born at Heraclea Pontice (now Karadeniz Ereğli in Turkey). Orphaned as child Nikephoros Gregoras was educated by his uncle Ioannes, who became metropolitan of his home town and sent him about 1314 to Constantinople. On his uncle's recommendation he was instructed in rhetoric, astronomy and philosophy by the patriarch Ioannes Glykys and the later "prime minister" Theodorus Metochites. The young Gregoras enjoyed a successful political career, and was sent by the Emperor in a diplomatic mission to Serbia. However, he became a victim of the Byzantine civil war of 1328–31. When Andronicus II died in 1328, the private property of his supporters, including Gregoras, was confiscated. However during the 1330s he was reinstated in his former functions and was also highly respected as a theologian. In 1349 he was offered the position of patriarch of Constantinople, but he refused. Under the reign of → Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) his fortunes took a turn for the worse. In the 1340s the conflict concerning the monastic doctrine of the hesychasm erupted in Byzantium, and, forced by Ioannes VI to state his position on it, Gregoras finally refuted this doctrine, though it was supported by the Emperor and officially accepted during the synod of 1351. As a result he was confined in the Chora monastery at Constantinople for the rest of his life, but he survived his great opponent Gregorius Palamas, who died on 14th November 1359.

During the last decade of his life Gregoras composed his famous *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία* (Roman History) in 37 books, one of the main sources of Byzantine history from 1204 to 1359 and a very

useful complement and correction to the autobiographical history of the Emperor Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos. But the text is not only a history, because the author has incorporated very extensive transcripts of his own theological disputations and also some of his philosophical and theological treatises. The complete work must therefore be seen as an important document of cultural history of the 14th century. Books 1–7 are a kind of preface, and also a short record of the events from 1204 to 1320 taken from Georgios → Akropolites and Georgios → Pachymeres. Books 8–29 depict the time from 1320 to 1355, and are followed by two theological disputations in books 30–35. In book 35–37 the political development from 1355 to 1359 is narrated, but the text apparently was not finally completed by Gregoras. This could be seen from two manuscripts of the text where the author has inserted in the margins by his own hand some critical notes and further considerations. The complete or partial text has been preserved in nearly 40 manuscripts, but two are particularly important because of the author's own notes: Vatican, BAV, cod. gr. 165 (14th century) and cod. gr. 1365 (14th century). Another Vatican manuscript, BAV, cod. Ottobon. gr. 67 (a. 1435/36) is also important.

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LARS MARTIN HOFFMANN

Gregory Bar 'Ebrōyō [Gregory Abu 'I Faraj; Bar Hebraeus]

1226–86. Azerbaijan. *Maphrian* of the Syrian Orthodox Church, and author of a world chronicle from the creation to 1286, which exists in a Syriac (Aramaic) and a shorter Arabic version. Born in 1226 in Melitene (now Malatya in Turkey), Gregory withdrew with his family to the Principality of Antioch. He then moved to the County of Tripolis (Tripoli in Lebanon) to continue his studies with an East Syrian rhetor. He was acquainted with mystical and scientific Muslim writings as well as with Adab. After entering the church and holding various bishoprics in Syria, he was elected *maphrian* in the year 1264. He moved to Mongol Mesopotamia and was buried in Maraga (now Maragheh, Iran) in 1286. He was one of the most learned Syrian Orthodox authors of all time, mastering theology, philosophy, and linguistics as well as medicine and natural science. The influence of his numerous writings on the Syrian Orthodox communities can hardly be overestimated and is felt to this day.

Gregory's chronicle preserves fragments of earlier works no longer independently extant. He shares many sources with the → *Chronicle of 1234*. Within the Eusebian tradition (see → Eusebius) the work follows the model set by the two-part chronicle (secular and ecclesiastical) of → Dionysius of Tel Mahre. His major source was the chronicle of → Michael the Great, a work he revered and criticised. He incorporated other Syriac, Arabic, and Persian narratives as well as other material, such as the universal chronicle of → Ibn al-'Athir. He also made wide use of biographical catalogues, *ṭabaqāt*, of scholars. He wrote for readers and (lay) listeners. The question of the intended audience for the Arabic version of his chronicle, whether Arab-Christian or Muslim, remains controversial.

The Syriac chronicle consists of three parts. The secular history is organised in eleven books, which Gregory designated as “successions” (of the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, the Persians, etc.) His focus is primarily on the Middle East. The ecclesiastical history records the succession of the Antiochene Patriarchs (part I) and the succession of the Eastern *Maphrians* (part II). Into these

he integrates the succession of the Armenian Catholicos and those of the Church of the East, thus achieving the first comprehensive church history of Mesopotamia. The much shorter Arabic version is presented in one volume only, and differs slightly in the selection of sources.

Gregory was motivated by an interest in history for its own sake, and he examines the historical role of the Syrian Orthodox as a cultural-ethnic group and as a church. He also presents history as *magistra vitae* and is concerned with the anthropological value of narratives. In this he met with great success among his readers; Gregory Bar 'Ebrōyō's chronicle is the Syriac chronicle extant in the largest number of complete manuscripts, many of which contain continuations. Good manuscripts include Vatican, BAV, vat. syr. 166; London, BL, add. 7198; Cambridge, UL, Dd 3. 8¹; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt 1, 52 and others).

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DOROTHEA WELTECKE

Gregory of Catino [Gregorius Catinensis]

11th–12th century. Italy. Born ca 1060 into the comital family of Catino in the Sabina (now Poggio Catino), he was placed in the abbey of Farfa as an oblate at an early age, along with his older brother Donadeo. At the time Farfa was the wealthiest and most powerful monastery in central Italy. Gregory received an excellent education in the monastic school in grammar, rhetoric and the Scriptures, as well as in the Church Fathers and canon law. When he was in his early thirties Gregory was commissioned by Abbot Berard II to re-organize the archives of the abbey. He set about copying the principal documents which he discovered, arranging them in a rough chronological order by abbots. By 1099 Gregory had produced a large cartulary of over 1100 documents now known as the *Regesto Farfense* (Register of Farfa) (Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 8487). In the 1120s Gregory's nephew, Todino, added some seventy folios of additional documents to the cartulary.

In the early 12th century, Gregory produced another collection of documents, the *Liber Largitorius*, that consisted largely of leases of properties by Farfa. As he was compiling these document collections Gregory perceived the need for a history of Farfa and its possessions. Therefore, between 1107 and 1119 he wrote the *Chronicon Farfense* (Chronicle of the abbey of Farfa) (Rome, BNC, Farf. 1), a narrative account of the monastery interspersed with numerous documents. As with his earlier works Gregory composed his chronicle in order to defend Farfa's rights and privileges and the abbey's possessions against the powerful families of the Sabina, especially the Ottaviani and the Crescenzi, the bishop of Rieti, and ultimately against the papacy and its officials. Since the 8th century Farfa had been an imperial abbey, and in the long struggle been the popes and the German emperors the monastery was always on the imperial side. In addition to the inclusion of many documents in the chronicle, Gregory copied in his work texts such as the *Liber Beraldi* (Book of Bernard) which set forth the political and religious position of Farfa as an imperial abbey. Gregory also described the long and complicated legal

battles with papal officials over the monastery's rights and possessions in which Farfa's lawyers questioned the authenticity of the *Constitutum Constantini* (the Donation of Constantine).

The *Chronicon Farfense* was one of the earliest Italian monastic chronicles to have both a narrative history and an extensive documentary record. It set a pattern for other monastic chronicles such as those from Volturmo, Novalesa and perhaps even Monte Cassino. Gregory also incorporated earlier narratives into the chronicle such as the *Libellus Constructionis Farfensis* and the *Destructio Monasterii Farfense* by Abbot → Hugh of Farfa (early 11th century). By re-organizing and copying out Farfa's archival records and by forming its historical memory, Gregory preserved the past, defended the present, and tried to shape the future of his monastery and his region of Italy. Ultimately Farfa lost its status of an imperial protected abbey. Gregory's chronicle and his cartulary, however, continue to provide historians with detailed evidence for their accounts of Farfa and central Italy in the early Middle Ages.

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RICHARD RING

Gregory of Tours

[Gregorius episcopus Turonensis]

539–94. Gaul (France). Bishop of Tours and author of numerous hagiographic works in Latin prose and the *Decem libri historiarum* (ten books of histories), better known by the title devised by later chroniclers: *Historia Francorum* (history of the Franks). Gregory's family had senatorial roots, and also boasted their own ecclesiastical dynasty: 13 of the 18 bishops who preceded him at Tours were his relatives. In his mid-thirties he was consecrated bishop of Tours, a hub of Merov-

ingian culture, religion and politics. It was also the geographical focal point of the cult of St. Martin, which Gregory assiduously promoted.

In stark contrast to the stylistically bland chronicle of Gregory's Gallic contemporary → Marius of Avenches, the *Decem libri historiarum* have an engaging and fast-paced narrative style. They represent the most prolific contemporary account of the ecclesiastical and political intrigue of 6th-century Frankish Gaul. Completed in 591 (with an epilogue added in 594), the work is divided into ten books, each of which is subdivided into chapters. Book 1 provides a selective summary of the history of God's people from the Old Testament down to the death of St. Martin, and in its content it is derivative of the Bible and the world chronicles of → Eusebius, → Jerome, and → Sulpicius Severus. Books 2–4 treat the conversion of the Franks, Clovis' conquest of Gaul, and the history of the Frankish kings down to the assassination of Sigibert in 575. Books 5–6, which Gregory wrote after he had become bishop, cover the reign of the scoundrel Chilperic. The final four books offer an intensive look at the period 584–91 and focus in particular on the reign of the *bonus rex* Guntram. Interspersed among Gregory's commentaries on Frankish politics are hagiographic asides profiling pious abbots, bishops and other Christian men and women of action. Thematically speaking, the *Decem libri historiarum* are dominated by several binaries: good and bad government; Catholic Christianity and Arianism; and the true and false Church (i.e. good and bad bishops). Many otherwise inaccessible documents and texts are preserved in the chronicle, such as a letter by the late 5th-century bishop of Carthage, Eugenius, as well as lengthy quotations from the 4th-century historians Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus and Sulpicius Alexander.

The *Decem libri historiarum* survive in fifty manuscripts. The oldest tradition of the text is represented by three early 7th-century fragments in uncial script copied a generation or two after Gregory (Cambrai, BM, 624; Brussels, KBR, 9403; Paris, BnF, lat. 17655). The oldest and best manuscript containing the entire ten books is Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, MC 275 (11th century). The *editio princeps* was produced by Josse Badius and Jean Petit at Blois in 1512.

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ANDREW J. CAIN

Greierz, Hans

ca 1403–65. Switzerland. Greierz studied in Vienna, was a scribe in Fribourg in 1422 and public notary in 1429, working with his uncle, Petermann Cudrefin, town scribe and author of the French verse romance *La pleur de sainte âme* (1426). Greierz himself was author of annalistic notes bridging the years 1441–55 and of a short Latin chronicle for the period 20 December 1447 to 16 July 1448 both written in Greierz' notary registers. The scattered annalistic notes record prices, the weather, and yields, shooting matches and the visit of king Frederick III to Fribourg.

The short chronicle provides an almost day-by-day account of the war of Berne and Savoy against Fribourg including details of skirmishes, the wounded and the dead men and horses, embassies and stolen cattle that are recorded nowhere else. It thus sheds a vivid light on the suffering of the farmers in the immediate surroundings of the town. The volume that contained the short chronicle is lost. The edition by RÄDLE follows a Latin version from the beginning of the 18th century that was corroborated with a German translation copied by a local historian at the end of the 16th century.

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REGULA SCHMID

Griffonibus, Matthaeus de

1351–1426. Italy. Born in Bologna of a patrician family, son of Guiduccio di Matteo (d. 1362) and his wife Zanna de Crescenzo (d. 1392); he married four times and had numerous children, most of whom died in infancy. After studying law he became a notary in 1369; by 1382 he had an important chancery post and in 1385 he became a member of the Consiglio dei Quattrocento, together with Floriano → Villola; he was also a colleague and friend of the chronicler Giacomo Bianchetti (he married Bianchetti's daughter). A magistrate, he was *podestà* of Imola in 1397; gonfalonier of justice in 1398; he went on frequent diplomatic missions to the Holy See and various Italian states. Exiled 1403–1405, he was appointed official archivist to Bologna on his return, and continued his career in public administration, becoming syndic in 1422.

It was during this period that he composed his *Memoriale historicum de rebus Bononiensium* (Memorial of the historical events of Bologna), which he continued until his death in 1426. He also wrote Latin and vernacular poetry. Matteo's *Memoriale* (which survives in the autograph, Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, B.1250) is annalistic in form. For the earlier period it is based on material from → Martin of Opava's *Chronicon*, and from the 13th century onwards on earlier Bolognese chronicles including → Bonifacius de Morano's *Chronica circularis* and probably Giacomo Bianchetti's lost chronicle but not the *Cronaca* of Pietro and Floriano Villola; for the contemporary period, which contains detailed and original descriptions of the political life of the Bolognese patrician class, Matteo uses personal experience, family memories, notarial documents and material from the communal archives. Occasionally he records personal events, most strikingly describing—in the third person—his sickness on the death of a noble lady with whom he was in love (*stetit multis diebus et noctibus quod ipse numquam comedere nec bibere vel dormire poterat quoquomodo*), and her appearance to him in a dream afterwards.

He also kept a register of family and other notes covering the period 1361–1425, not all of which was incorporated into the *Memoriale*; this survives in manuscript form (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Fantuzzi–Ceretoli, b. 160), with a brief compendium of Bolognese history and a short family genealogy-history entitled *Parentela Griffonorum* added at the beginning. Matteo writes in a lively and expressive style, using a strongly vulgarized Latin with numerous expressions from the spoken language. His *Memoriale* is a trustworthy primary source and a valuable example of late-medieval Bolognese historiography. It was used in the 14th century by → Bartolomeo della Pugliola and in the 15th by Raffaele Primaticci and Giacomo Ronco.

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PETER DAMIAN-GRINT

Grigor of Akanc'

ca 1250–1335. Armenia. Scholar and native of Akanc' (Akner). Author of the Armenian *Patmut'wn vasn azgin netolac'* (History of the Nation of Archers), written in Cilicia at the behest of Abbot Step'annos, as indicated in the autograph manuscript Jerusalem, Ναός του αγίου Ιακώβου, 32 (ca 1271). A later manuscript held by the Biblioteca Mechitarista di San Lazzaro in Venice, which was copied later and is heavily damaged, attributes the history to a monk Malak'ia, who is otherwise unknown. Grigor was not immediately exposed to the Mongols and his work does

not reference any other contemporary histories; however, some scholars argue that the sources for Grigor's compilation might have been the works of → Vardan Arewelc'i, → Kirakos Ganjakec'i, and particularly the lost history of Yovhannēs (John) Vanakan. Grigor's *History* provides valuable information about the subjection of the Armenians and Georgians to the Mongols; the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate and the sack of Baghdad in 1258; the reign of King Het'um I and his sons, T'oros and Lewon, as well as the travels of King Het'um and → Smbat Sparapet to the Mongol capital of Qara Qorum. Noteworthy sections are also those which discuss the birth of Genghis Khan, the genealogical history of the Mongols, Mongol warfare techniques, and Mongol customs and ceremonies.

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TAMAR BOYADJIAN

Grill, Nikolaus

ca 1340–post 1419. Germany. Urban chronicler in Mühldorf am Inn (east of Munich). Grill is mentioned regularly in official documents of the town between 1389 and 1419 as an extraordinarily wealthy merchant and citizen. His will, composed 8th April 1419, records that he married his wife Elsbeth in 1363. Grill composed the so-called *Mühldorfer Annalen*, the first part of which was completed in 1400, the second in 1428. The sole manuscript is today in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Munich (HL Salzburg 851). The two parts are independent. The first recounts the ancient history of Bavaria until the death of duke Henry III in 988, in essence a German translation of → Berchtold of Kremsmünster's treatise *De ordine ducum Babarie sive regum*. The second part of the annals covers the years 1313 to 1428, but it consists only of notes written by various hands, making the attribution to Grill rather problematic.

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Literature: H. ULMSCHNEIDER, *VL*² 3. *RepFont* 5, 247.

ALBRECHT CLASSEN

Groningen, Rainer

fl. 1480–1500. Germany. Composer of the *Schichtspeel*, a Middle Low German chronicle of Braunschweig completed 18th Jan 1492, in which he describes the riot initiated there by the furrier Ludeken Holland against the patrician class (1488–1491), to which he was apparently an eyewitness. The original chronicle comprises 4937 lines of verse, but it was transcribed into prose by an anonymous shortly after 1510; this transcription offers helpful interpretations and additional comments, though large sections were omitted. Groningen was probably a cleric descended from a Braunschweig family, possibly serving as a notary for the leading patricians, though his name does not appear in any municipal documents. He explicitly rejects the rioters and adulates the victorious side, his own conservative patrons (perhaps a Tile vam Damme). The chronicle is structured as an almanac and dedicated to the writer's friends and patrons. The original *Schichtspeel* survives in a single manuscript (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 120 Helmst., three pages or ca 600 verses missing), as does its prose rendition (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 652 Helmst.).

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ALBRECHT CLASSEN

Gruber, Wenzel

[Wenzeslaus]

2nd half 15th century. Germany. Benedictine in Scheyern, Bavaria. Author of a lost family chronicle. As house officer of Hanns Trennbach of Trennbach (d. 1468), friar Gruber repaid his master's favour by writing a prose chronicle of the Trennbachs from the origins to his own time, based on sources like registers and gravestones. Parts of the work are transmitted as excerpts in two 16th-century chronicles commissioned by bishop Urban of Trennbach (d. 1598). The *Trennbach-Chronik*, Gruber's main transmitter, was written by Johannes Auer in 1552, and finished and painted by Leonhart Abent in 1590. It survives in a well conserved manuscript of 311 small-folio pages (St. Pölten, LA, Hs. 327) and includes portraits of the family members, arms and genealogical trees. The other witness is the third part of the *Bayrisches Stammbuch* by Wiguleus Hundt.

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Literature: F. SCHANZE, *VL*² 3, 285f.

ELENA DI VENOSA

Gruel, Guillaume

ca 1410–74/82. France. French-speaking Breton soldier, captain of Dol (1457–9), and author of a chronicle of his master, Arthur III, duke of Brittany and Constable of France. Written ca 1462–6, this laudatory and partial life of Arthur de Richemont, Constable of France from 1425 and briefly duke of Brittany (1457–8), by a member of his retinue for over 30 years, is one of the most informative accounts by a serving soldier of military events during the last phase of the Hundred Years War.

For the period before Gruel joined Arthur's household (ca 1425), he draws on the Constable's own recollections, including a brief account of his capture at Agincourt (1415) and subsequent imprisonment. Some archival material is used but the account is chiefly based on eyewitness testimony, although it is selective and deliberately evasive on the Constable's private life, his tortuous diplomacy and political machinations, omitting anything detracting from the reputation of a man portrayed as a wise leader, lover of justice and paragon of Christian chivalry. The text is

invaluable for the Constable's campaigns, in which Gruel frequently took a distinguished part as at the siege of Meaux (1439) and in the reconquest of Normandy (1449–50). It also provides much evidence on the careers of many other leading French captains, especially those from Brittany.

The chronicle survives in three manuscripts: Nantes, Médiathèque, 966, 66 fos. (15th century), Paris, BnF, fr. 5037 fos. 43–119 (early 16th century) and BnF, fr. 5507, 61 fos. (early 17th century).

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MICHAEL JONES

Grunau, Simon

ca 1470–1530/37. Poland. Dominican friar in Gdańsk. Author of the German-language *Preußische Chronik* (Prussian Chronicle) in 24 tracts (1700 pages printed) including a Prussian Vocabulary (*Altpreussisches Vokabular*).

Grunau worked on his voluminous chronicle until 1525. Opposing the Teutonic Order and the Lutheran Reformation, he identifies strongly with the Prussian region and displays sympathy for Poland. The chronicle is the first complete history of Prussia. He employs the style of a storyteller freely, altering older sources. The main sources are → Peter of Dusburg and the → *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, but there are others, the identity of which remains obscure. His descriptions of geography, and of the gods and customs of the indigenous population display an intimate knowledge of the people and the region, and are an important resource for the study of Baltic mythology. The bias and style of the chronicle, and its sympathy for common people may have contributed to a dismissal of the chronicle as exaggerated and untrustworthy, but this verdict has recently been questioned. The *Prussian Vocabulary*, a listing of one hundred words in German and Prussian,

represents a rare linguistic monument in the now extinct Old Prussian language.

The chronicle was popular in the 16th century, but criticized by the Lutheran church. The text is extant in Berlin, Geheimes SA Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA. msc. A 2^o 6, Wilna, Akademie-Bibliothek, F 15–6 and Göttingen, SB & UB, 8 cod. ms. hist. 554. It achieved new popularity in modern times with its first printing in 1875.

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JULIA HODAPP
RASMA LAZDA

Grünenberg, Konrad [Grünenberg]

fl. 1470–86. Southern Germany. Author of a travel report and a heraldic chronicle. Grünenberg was born to a patrician family in Konstanz, where he is first documented in 1474 as member of the Great Town Council. He travelled widely and held several official positions in the town. In late 1485 he is first attested as "Ritter Konrad", possibly an accolade granted by Frederick III on his visit to Konstanz in August 1485. Grünenberg's report of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1486 was very popular.

His *Austrian Heraldic Chronicle* is by his own words *uß etlichen coronic gezogen* (drawn from many chronicles, fol. 2^v), but depends mainly on → Leopold von Wien. It presents the history of the House of Austria from its alleged biblical origins to the author's days. The many colourful coats of arms make the chronicle of special interest to heraldry. The autograph (ca 1470) survives in Vienna, HHSA, cod. Rot 1; no other manuscript is known. The text remains unedited, and, in stark contrast to his travel writing, has enjoyed little scholarly attention.

Grünenberg also produced a *Wappenbuch*, a book of ca 2000 heraldic items, which is sometimes confused with but is not identical to the *Heraldic Chronicle*.

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Grünpeck, Joseph [Grünpeckh, Grinpeck]

ca 1473–1532. Austria. Author of *Historia Friderici et Maximiliani*. Born in Burghausen in Bavaria, Grünpeck studied theology and medicine, travelled in Italy, Poland and Hungary, and became secretary and chaplain for emperor Maximilian I, but without a permanent position. Writer of prophecies (*Prognostiken*) and other works. In 1518 Maximilian awarded him the mill fees of the town of Steyr.

Grünpeck's first historical work, *Commentaria divi Maximiliani ab anno etatis ejus XII usque ad quadragesimum sextum* (Life of Maximilian from age 12 to 46, 1506) is lost. Next he composed his *Geschichte Deutschlands von Karl dem Großen bis auf seine Zeit* (History of Germany from Charles the Great up to his time) 1507. This is a collection of short biographies of German emperors and princes which survives in the Munich, BSB, clm 23751.

Grünpeck's best known work is the *Historia Friderici et Maximiliani*, written in 1514–16, an illustrated biography of Frederick II and Maximilian I, written by order of Maximilian. There is one manuscript (Vienna, HHSA, Böhm Nr. 24). A second, expanded version (written between 1526 and 1539) is known only in a 17th century translation. The main sources are oral reports from the court and written documents of Maximilian, who also personally made comments and deletions by hand in the manuscript. The *Historia* is meant as an educational book for Maximilian's nephew. Maximilian is described as a ruler who takes a personal interest in all affairs of state. These descriptions are strikingly similar to the characterization of Alexander the Great in Johann Hartlieb's *Alexander romance*.

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RALF SCHLECHTWEJG-JAHN

Gucci, Giorgio

pre-1350–1392. Italy. Florentine pilgrimage writer, wool merchant and noted holder of public office. He was elected to the priorate of the Republic at regular intervals from 1379 onwards and represented his Commune on four diplomatic missions to Pisa in 1388–91. He travelled to the Holy Land via Venice, Alexandria, Cairo, and the Sinai in a group, leaving Florence in August 1384 and returning home in late May of the following year.

The *Viaggio ai luoghi santi* (Visit to the Holy Places), Gucci's travelogue written in Italian vernacular, offers highly vivid details of his experiences, including descriptions of the venerated sites of devotion as well as a record of the weights, measurements, prices and commercial activities of the people he met. His perspective on the lands and customs he encountered is at once naïve and fresh. Thus, his writings not only provide valuable insights into religious tourism but also reveal the pragmatic criteria of judgement and explanation that can be associated with the merchant class of late medieval Florence. Gucci's account was first published in 1862 alongside the travelogues of Lionardo → Frescobaldi and Simone → Sigoli, his travelling companions; all three were translated into English in 1948. A number of manuscript copies of the text survive, including one from the 15th century in Florence, BML, XLII, 30.

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FLAVIO BOGGI

Guerinus Placentinus

[Guarino]

ca 1243–1323?. Italy. Of a leading family of Piacenza (Emilia-Romagna), Guarino was a *consigliere del commune* (counsellor of the Commune), but gives no indication about his profession, although he fought as a soldier in the defence of Piacenza in 1314 and his son Opicino was killed during the assault on the Castel San Giovanni in 1313.

Guarino's *Chronicon Placentinum* (1289–1322, continued by other hands 1324–39) recounts the fortunes of the commune of Piacenza year by year, sometimes month by month: it is a long catalogue of war and devastation, the burning of towns and laying waste of the countryside, upheavals, factions and violence within the city-state, all painted in dark colours and dramatic tones. Guarino's Latin is poor, but his narrative is lively and dramatic and his description of the miseries and sufferings of his time of war and violence is powerful. The *incipit* gives an indication of his attitude: *Incipit liber de recordationibus memorie de rebus preteritis, que ego Guerinus in tempore meo vidi et scripsi, et sicut Salomon ait, vidi concta universa mala que sub sole sunt, verum et probatum et certum et omnia sub sole vanitas* (Here begins the book of memories of past events which I, Guarino, in my times, saw and wrote, and, as Salomon says, I saw all the evils under the sun, real and attested and certain, and all the vanity under the sun).

Violently opposed to tyranny, he is harsh in his condemnation of both the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, although he becomes more sympathetic to the latter towards the end of the text. A superstitious man, he frequently invokes the influence of the moon and the stars, omens and horoscopes, and cites a prophesy of Merlin in relation to a skirmish fought outside the city walls. His chronicle, which is preserved in a 16th-century copy of the original transcribed by Gian Stefano Paveri

(Piacenza, Bib. comunale, Comunali 31), is an important source for the history of the commune of Piacenza.

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PETER DAMIAN-GRINT

Guerre de Metz en 1324

ca 1325. France (Alsace-Lorraine). A verse chronicle by an eyewitness describing the attack on Metz by four of the local noblemen, the "War of the Four Kings". The poet is fiercely pro-Metz and sees the attackers as driven by pride and the devil. Written in clear, straightforward French with the occasional literary reference (*Tristan* and *Perceval*). There are 296 septets (rhyme ababab) which end abruptly as a Metz raiding party returns to the city. The original manuscript was written in 1325, and the text survives in two very similar copies, both 15th century, of which the better is Paris, BnF, fr. 5782.

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Text: E. DE BOUTEILLER & F. BONARDOT, *La Guerre de Metz en 1324*, 1875 [with translation].

Literature: *RepFont* 5, 264f.

PETER S. NOBLE

Guibert de Nogent

[Guibertus abbas Novigenti]

1053–1124. Northern France. Author of the *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Deeds of God through the Franks), a Latin chronicle of the first decade of the 12th century describing the First Crusade. Guibert was the abbot of the small Benedictine monastery of Nogent-sous-Coucy. He was a prolific author in other fields: we also possess his autobiography, modelled on the *Confessions* of → Augustine; he wrote a large number of spiritual works such as a treatise on relics, and also admits to having produced now lost salacious poetry.

The *Gesta Dei* describes the events preceding the Crusade, the Crusade itself, and the death

of Godfrey. It was finished no later than 1112. It is, like the similar works of Guibert's Benedictine contemporaries → Baudri of Bourgueil and → Robert the Monk, heavily based on the → *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. However Guibert turns it into a distinctive account of the Crusade. He adds large amounts of material on Islam and the prehistory of the Crusade, and material drawn from other now lost sources: for example he is the only chronicler of the Crusade to mention the lawless Christian rabble known as the Tafurs who feature largely in the → *Chanson d'Antioche*. He also develops the theology of the divine origins of the Crusade, something implicit in his title. For reasons no longer clear he had some kind of disagreement with → Fulcher of Chartres, whose chronicle covers the First Crusade and early years in Outremer. His account stands out from other contemporary sources for the Crusade both by its convoluted style and the sharp intelligence of its author.

The *Gesta Dei* survives in eight manuscripts representing two separate traditions, mostly from the 12th century and suggesting a Northern French monastic audience. HUYGENS' edition is based on what he terms the *alpha* branch, using the 12th-century Florence, BML, Ashburnham 1054 as well as Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabricius 95 8° and Paris, BnF, lat. 18417; he also adds some material from the *beta* branch, consisting of a further five manuscripts now in Berne, Paris, Berlin and the Vatican of which four are 12th century and one 13th. A few extracts survive in BnF, lat. 4998. The *Recueil* edition, translated by LEVINE, is based on the *beta* branch.

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CAROL SWEETENHAM

Guido de Bazochis

1146–1203. France. Cleric from the Champagne region, canon of Châlons-sur-Marne, writer and chronicler in Latin. Guido was born into a high-ranking French family from the Soissonais (Champagne region). At age seven, he was sent to live with his uncle Haimon, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. He later completed his education at the universities of Paris and Montpellier. After Haimon's death, Guido became canon and cantor at the cathedral of Châlons. In 1190, he joined Henry II of Champagne and Philip Augustus on the Third Crusade.

Guido's *Opus historicus* falls into eleven books. The first three are part of a trilogy, *Liber apologie contra maledicos* (Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 4998, fol. 35–64^v), which he dedicated to his mother and directed against those who criticized his lifestyle. His fourth book, *Libellus de mundi*, is a geography book inspired by → Bede. His last books (5–11) form the *Liber qui dicitur chronographia sive liber diversarum historiarum* (Luxembourg, BN, ms. 56; Tournai, BM, 135, fol. 99–104^v), a universal chronicle covering the history of the world from Creation to the death of Richard the Lionheart in 1199. He also wrote 37 letters (Luxembourg, BN, ms. 27) which combine prose and poetry.

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CRISTIAN BRATU

Guido di Vallechia

d. before 1315. Italy. Son of Ugolino Sanuto (d. 1253) and his wife Rimborgia (d. 1272), he was a respected Pisan judge and diplomat; among the posts he held were assessor and judge in Piombino, and one of his diplomatic missions (in 1270) was to Tunis, where he visited the camp of Louis IX. In 1267 he married Preziosa detta

Ciocia; they had six children. Husband and wife took the Franciscan habit together in 1286, and Guido went on to become an Augustinian canon in 1287 and a priest in 1290. Guido's three *Libri memoriales* (Books of memories) are a precious record for the history of the region, although they are not strictly speaking a chronicle but rather a collection of materials. The first *Liber* is a list of his father's vassals and territories; the second is largely a record of events in the family territories over the years 1270–90; the third consists of copies of legal and other documents relating to the family possessions. The historical narration is frequently incomplete or (owing to secretarial slips) obscure. The text is preserved in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Stroziano, II serie, 143 (fol. 2–41).

Guido is incorrectly called Guido da Corvaia in the edition of the second *Liber* in the RIS.

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PETER DAMIAN-GRINT

Guillaume de Jaligny

15th century. France. Court official and author of a prose chronicle on the reign of Charles VIII. He was the secretary of Pierre II, Duke of Burgundy. His vernacular prose chronicle, *Histoire de plusieurs choses memorables du regne de Charles VIII* (A History of some remarkable events of the reign of Charles VIII), covers 1483–9. A number of documents are embedded in the chronicle including the articles of the peace treaty between Charles VIII and the Duke of Brittany in 1488 and letters from the ambassador of the Duke of Austria to Charles VIII in 1489. One manuscript survives (Paris, BnF, fr. 23285, 16th century, paper, 66 folios). The text was printed in 1617 and 1684. There are no modern editions.

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MARIANNE AILES

Guillaume de la Penne

d. 1381. France, Italy. Knight from the diocese of Le Mans (Maine, France), author of two untitled poems in Middle French. The first, comprising 2,786 octosyllabic verses, was named *Gesta Britonum in Italia* (Deeds of the Bretons in Italy) by its 18th-century editors; the second, in 174 decasyllabic verses, is a defence of the Election of Clement VII, probably written in 1379.

In the *Gesta Britonum*, composed in Italy in 1378, Guillaume's intention was to present the deeds of valour of the captain under whom he served, composing a chivalric biography, as was in vogue at the time. Presented as a *romans* (romance), this epic poem blends historical episodes with romantic fiction. It opens in 1375, probably the time when he began to serve under his hero, Sylvestre Budes, a cousin of Bertrand du Guesclin, who took part in Enguerran de Coucy's expedition to Alsace. But the main theatre of the poem is the wars conducted in central Italy, more or less under the authority of the cardinal legate Robert de Genève, to restore obedience to the Pope in the Papal State. Guillaume's admiration for Sylvestre, whose numerous virtues resolved many dangerous situations, leads him to excuse his brutality on several occasions, above all the massacre of the population of Cesena, by suggesting the involvement of the occult. Guillaume's work survives in only one manuscript composed in Avignon in the last decade of the 14th century, now conserved in Angers, BM, 549.

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ARMAND JAMME

Guillaume de Machaut

1300–77. France. Poet, historian and musician, who wrote verse works (with music) for many French personalities of the 14th century. As secretary of John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, he composed for him the *Jugement dou roy de Behaigne* (before 1342) and the *Dit dou Lyon* (1342). After John's death, he wrote works for Charles of Navarre: the *Jugement dou roy de Navarre* (1349) and the *Confort d'ami* (between 1356–7), a kind of mirror for the prince, composed when Charles was imprisoned by his father-in-law, John II the Good, king of France. The beginning of the *Jugement dou roy de Navarre* describes the ravages of the Black Death and the damage in France during this period. Machaut wrote the *Fonteinne amoureuse* for John, Duke of Berry. His last work was the *Prise d'Alexandrie* (after 1369).

Two of these works may be considered chronicle-like: *Le Dit dou Lyon* and *La Prise d'Alexandrie*. The former relates Machaut's memories of John's military campaigns in Lithuania as the background of a chivalric and allegorical story. The latter is an account of the life of Peter I of Lusignan, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem. Unlike his other works, the *Prise* is based on historical inquiries, although the text begins with a mythological background. It is a sort of biographical chronicle in rhyming verse. These two texts survive together in Paris, BnF, fr. 1584A, which bears the inscription *Vesci l'ordenance que G. de Machaut wet qu'il ait en son livre* (this is the order that G. de Machaut wants to have in his book).

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TANIA VAN HEMELRYCK

Guillaume de Nangis

d. 1300. France. Archivist of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Denis-en-France from ca 1285. Familiar with the royal court of France. Author of a Life of King Louis IX and Deeds of Philip III, of a Brief Chronicle of the kings of France, and of a World Chronicle from Creation to AD 1300, all originally in Latin.

By the 13th century the kings of France recognized St. Dionysius, legendary missionary and martyr bishop of Paris, as their patron, and the royal abbey church of St. Denis was the keeper of the regalian treasure and the customary burial place of kings and queens. The monks there assumed the task of keeping chronicles of the kings in association with their own rich archives and library. From 1285 to 1300, while deeply engaged in writing history, Guillaume de Nangis received an annual stipend of 5 livres as *custos cartarum* or archivist of the abbey.

The *Vita Ludovici IX regis Franciaie*, compiled from earlier biographies, and the *Gesta Philippi III*, composed from primary sources, were completed after the death of Philip (1285) but before the canonization of Louis (1297) who is not called saint in either of the works. A manuscript of both Lives from St. Denis is now in Paris (BnF, lat. 5925, 305^r–371^v). In a copy prepared ca 1400 for the children of Charles VI (London, BL, Royal ms. 13.B.iii), the first Life was addressed in verse to the second king, but both were dedicated to Philip IV (1286–1314). Both contributed to the → *Grandes Chroniques de France* and both were published by Pierre Pithou (1596), by François Duchesne (1649) and, with their early 14th-century French translations on facing pages, by P.C.F. DAUNOU (1840).

Guillaume's brief Latin Chronicle of the French kings, which is accompanied by a genealogical tree, begins with the legend of Priam of Troy and emphasizes wars and victories. Two copies survive, a St. Denis original, BnF, lat. 6184,

1^r–15^r, and (less full and accurate) Vatican, BAV, regin. lat. 574, samples of which were published by DELISLE. To make his Chronicle more useful as a noble visitors' guide to the royal tombs at St. Denis, Guillaume wrote a French translation commonly called the *Chronique abrégée*, of which there are 5 copies in Paris. It was edited in part by DAUNOU from BnF, lat. 5696 & 6763. There are several French versions, continued and amplified by other writers, known by the title *Chronique amplifiée*.

Guillaume's universal *Chronica* gives a fresh look at authoritative and primary sources in a plain and pleasant Latin. Four-fifths of the work, from Creation to AD 1113, were compiled candidly, freely and intelligently from → Eusebius and → Jerome down to AD 380, and then from the *Chronographia* of → Sigebert of Gembloux (d. 1113). Guillaume also relied on the *Historia scholastica* of → Peter Comestor (ca 1169) for the first four millennia, and he added material from the → *Historia Daretis Frigii* and the Alexander stories, the Roman anecdotes, → Josephus, → Bede, → Geoffrey of Monmouth and other sources. The text from 1113 onward tells the history of the world as viewed from Paris, using the work of → Suger of Saint-Denis, → Rigord, → Vincent of Beauvais, → Martin of Opava and other chronicles.

A full copy of a first redaction is BAV, regin. lat. 544. An unintelligent and incomplete copy of this, beginning AD 1113, is BnF, fr. 5703; another copy is BAV, Chigi G VIII 233. All other known manuscripts are of the second redaction, considerably improved and carried forward to Guillaume's own death in 1300. The original exemplar of this second redaction, with additions and corrections by the author, is BnF, lat. 4918, from which two calligraphic demonstration copies were made at St. Denis: BL, Royal ms. 13.E.iv (early 14th century) and BnF, lat. 4917 (early 15th century). The pages of these best manuscripts are designed for ready reference in imitation of Sigebert's chronicle: the names of kingdoms run across the top of every page, and above the paragraph devoted to each year is a horizontal row of regnal-year numbers, each number directly beneath the name of the kingdom to which it refers. The era-numbers of years run in the outer margins: *anni mundi* to 4062, then *anni dominici incarnationis*. The three

editions of the *Chronica* omit the pre-1113 material. The first, by Luc d'Achery in *Spicilegium* XI (1672) reproduced the fallible 16th-century BnF, lat. 11729. DAUNOU used this manuscript and the superior BnF lat. 4917 and 4918. GÉRAUD's edition is readily available but faulty: it was based on the poor first-redaction ms. BnF fr. 5703, with variants and notes from the earlier editions and from two new manuscripts, all of the second redaction. Continuations beyond 1300, written at Saint-Denis, follow the work of Guillaume de Nangis in a third of the manuscripts and in all the editions.

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DANIEL WILLIMAN

Guillaume de St. André

14th century. France. Chancery clerk of the dukes of Brittany. Author of a chronicle entitled the *Libvre du bon Jehan, duc de Bretagne* (Book of the Good John, Duke of Brittany), written between October 1381 and early 1385, and dedicated to his son. It is especially important because it is Brittany's first historical text written in French. In 5482 octosyllabic verses, it bears witness to its author's exceptional position in the duke's entourage, which allowed him to write about facts and events known from first-hand experience as well

as from source material coming directly from the archives of the duchy. Despite a flagrant bias in favour of the dukes of Brittany, Guillaume provides a very original and useful biography of John IV, from the beginnings of the War of Succession against Joanna of Penthièvre (1341) to his reconciliation with the French crown (1381). The text concludes with the only known French verse translation/adaptation of Iacopo da Cessolis' *Moralisatio super ludum scaccorum*, here acting as a metaphorical mirror of princes theorizing the practice of the duke's political power described in the chronicle itself. The *Libvre* is extant in four medieval manuscripts: Paris, BnF, fr. 1659, 5037, 10174 and 14978, of which 5037 is the most complete and reliable witness.

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LAURENT BRUN

Guillelmus Andernensis

[William of Andres]

ca 1176–post 1234. France. Author of a Latin monastic chronicle. Born near Boulogne sur Mer, he entered the Benedictine monastery of Andres (also called Andernes) near Ardres at an early age. In 1208 he was elected abbot, but the motherhouse of Charroux contested the election. After papal intervention, a second election in 1211 confirmed him as abbot. He wrote the *Chronica Andernensis monasterii*, covering the period 1024–1234. For the time before 1194 he is essentially dependant on → Andreas of Marchiennes. After 1194 he provides numerous details of the abbots' lives, the circumstances of their accession to the abbacy, their charters, disputes with other religious establishments or local aristocracy, and gifts of land and revenues. As well as including several charters, papal bulls and documents in support of his statements, he also writes at length on his own life and travels. Among the surviving

manuscripts of his work are Arras, BM, 866 and Paris, BnF, lat. 12891. It was first edited by Luc d'Achery in 1669.

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RÉGIS RECH

Gundelfingen, Heinrich von

1440s–1490. Switzerland. Author of several historical and geographical works about the Habsburg dynasty and the Swiss Confederation in Latin and Middle High German. Born in Konstanz as the illegitimate son of Nikolaus, provost of Beromünster (near Lucerne), Gundelfingen studied in Heidelberg and Freiburg im Breisgau, where he was at first denied the title magister for his moral conduct but later became the first professor of poetics in 1471. He held several ecclesiastical benefices in Freiburg and Lucerne and a canonicate in Beromünster. After 1486, Gundelfingen resided in the convent of canons in Waldkirch near Freiburg, where he died in 1490. His work is equally committed to the Swiss Confederation and to the Habsburg dynasty, who fostered his career. Thus, it reflects the peace treaty between Habsburg and the Confederation known as *Ewige Richtung* in 1474.

His Latin History of Austria (*Austriae principum chronici epitome triplex*, 1476) falls into three parts: A) a fictitious prehistory of the Habsburg dynasty leading up to King Rudolf I, based mainly upon → Leopold von Wien; B) a genealogy from the Roman family Pierleoni up to Gundelfingen's patron Sigmund of Tyrol (1427–96); C) the "great deeds" of the latter concerning the *Ewige Richtung* and the Burgundian wars of 1474–6. Anticipating the denouement of the war, Gundelfingen allegorises Sigmund being sent by heaven in order to defeat the despotic Burgundian duke Charles the Bold. An appendix contains the succession of the dukes of Tyrol (*Comitum Tyrolis successio*) 1269–1439, partly based on → Matthias von Neuenburg. An illuminated manuscript has survived in Vienna (ÖNB, cvp 516); a contemporary copy ibidem, cvp 3500. Though this is considered to be Gundelfingen's chief work, no critical edition has so far been undertaken.

In 1479, Gundelfingen wrote a panegyric to the Swiss Confederation, containing a description of Ceasar's *Helvetia* and again a praise of the *Ewige Richtung*. The text is known in Romont, Kapuzinerkloster, cod. Gund., 11^r-12^v. After 1480, Gundelfingen anonymously composed a Latin version of the → *Herkommen der Schwyzer und Oberhasler*, extant together with other writings of his in the same codex, cod. Gund., 7^v-10^v, and in a copy by Hartmann → Schedel (Munich, BSB, clm 951, 202^r-209^r). Gundelfingen's authorship of the contemporary Middle High German version of the *Herkommen* is uncertain.

In 1488, Gundelfingen wrote the first biography of the recently deceased Swiss eremite and subsequent saint Niklaus von Flüe (1417-87) along with a liturgical composition entitled *Historia Nicolai Underwaldensis eremitae*, of which no medieval manuscript is extant. Gundelfingen also wrote contributions to contemporary history, an oration about the Hegauer feud in 1480 (autograph: Sélestat, BM, cod. K 1209a, 2^r-4^r) and a lament about the capture of King Maximilian I in Bruges (Flanders) in 1488 (autograph: Freiburg i. Br., UB, cod. 356a, 13^v-16^v).

Other writings contain praises to the cities of Lucerne 1480/81 (*Amoenitates urbis Lucernensis*, Latin version lost, German version extant in the chronicle of Melchior → Russ Jr.) and Berne 1486 (*Topographia urbis Bernensis*, cod. Gund., 1^r-7^r). In 19 Latin distiches, Gundelfingen also praised the church of Waldkirch (*In laudem Waldkirchensis ecclesiae*, autograph in Sélestat, BM, cod. K 1209a, 1^r-1^v).

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RAINER HUGENER

Gunther of Pairis

ca 1150-ca 1210. France. Cistercian monk of the Alsatian abbey of Pairis. Author of the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, composed in Latin in 1205 with an addendum (chapter 25) added 1207/8. Probably commissioned by Abbot Martin of Pairis, it recounts, in 25 prosimetrical chapters (alternating prose and verse within each chapter), the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the army of the Fourth Crusade and the abbot's removal of purloined Constantinopolitan relics to Pairis. The *Hystoria* justifies Abbot Martin's "sacred sacrilege", as Gunther termed it, but its main thesis is that the capture of Constantinople was directed by Providence for the disciplining of the heretical, faithless Greeks, the exaltation of the Roman Church, and the enrichment of Pairis. Beyond all that, this "mighty work of God" was a turning point in human history. The work exists within three 15th-century codices: Munich, UB, 4^o cod. ms. 321, fols 1^r-23^r (dated 1425); Colmar, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 248 (formerly 434), fols. 33^v-47^v (dated September 1463); and Munich, BSB, clm 903, fols 115^r-148^r. Of the three, clm 903 is closest to the now-lost original.

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ALFRED ANDREA

Güntzel, Nickel

fl. 1400-26. Germany. A citizen of Görlitz (Oberlausitz) and son of a mayor of the same name (d. 1392), Güntzel became a councillor, a member of the court jury, and a mayor himself (1401, 1407, and 1422). From 1401 until his death he served as town scribe. He wrote chronicle accounts of the city for the years 1404 to 1416. The manuscript (Görlitz, Bibliothek der Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft, LI 232) was lost in the Second World War. No transcript was ever made.

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Literature: H. HERKOMMER, *VL*² 3.

ALBRECHT CLASSEN

Gutasagan (History of the Goths)

13th century. Sweden. An appendix to *Gutalagen* (Law of the Goths) in Swedish.

The oldest preserved example of historical writing in the vernacular in Sweden, *Gutasagan* presents a brief account of the history of the island of Gotland from heathen times into the Christian period. It also tells of a large-scale emigration from Gotland as the result of overpopulation, and of the descendants of these migrants—almost certainly the Goths—who now live in southern Europe and who still speak "something of our language".

Gutasagan was written no later than 1285 and possibly as early as *Gutalagen* (ca 1220), but the oldest manuscript is from the mid-14th century (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, cod. B 64). The

saga serves as a supplement to the law, focussing on the relationship between the people of Gotland and various external powers, notably the king of Sweden, and emphasizing the Gotlanders' independence. Thus, they accept Christianity voluntarily and conclude an agreement with the King of Sweden for mutual benefit, after the king had long tried in vain to conquer the island.

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OLLE FERM

H

Hāfiz-i Abrū

[Hāfiz-i Abrū 'Abd Allāh ibn Lutf Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Bihādānī]

d. 833 AH (1430 AD). Persia. Hāfiz-i Abrū took part in several campaigns of *Shāh Rukh* (ruler over Persia and Transoxania between 1405 and 1447), whose service he entered after the death of *Timūr* (known in the west as Tamerlane 1336–1405). He wrote several historical works and also a geographical work in Persian.

Hāfiz-i Abrū's three early historical works were: the *Dhayl-i Djāmi' al-tawārikh*, dealing with the reigns of Uldjaytū and Abū Sa'īd. A continuation of the work of Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318 AD); the *Dhayl-i Zafarnāma-yi Shāmī*, a continuation of the work of → Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, written by the order of Shāh Rukh, dealing with the life of Timūr, and finished in 814/1412; and a history of the rule of *Shāh Rukh* until the year 816/1413. These are transmitted in one manuscript: London, BL, I.O. Islamic 173 (Ethé 171). These first three works served him as basis for his later great historical writings, in which they are reused with modifications by the author.

The *Madjmū'a* (Collected Works or Compilation) was again written by order of *Shāh Rukh*. This work is in part a compilation of several older historical works with the additions of Hāfiz-i Abrū himself. Here we find, for example, the Chronicle of → al-Tabarī in the translation of Bal'amī, the *Djāmi' al-tawārikh* of Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Zafar-nāma* of Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, and other sources.

The *Madjma' al-tawārikh* (Compendium of History) is an illustrated universal chronicle divided in four great parts, from the time before the Arab conquest of Iran until 830/1427. It covers Biblical and Iranian History, as well as the life of the Prophet and aspects of Chinese history. The main aim of this work was the legitimation of the ruling dynasty. Part two survives in Cambridge, UL, Persian ms. Browne G9, and in frag-

ments in Teheran and Istanbul. Part four is found in a manuscript known as *Zubdat al-tawārikh-i Bāysunghuri* in Istanbul, Süleymaniye kütüphanesi, Fatih 4371/1 and in Vienna, ÖNB, ms. Mxt. 454).

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Hagen, Gottfried

ca 1230/40–1299. Germany. Town clerk of Cologne, highly educated and active in various influential positions in Cologne. In 1262 he introduced German (Riparian) as a written language for charters; 25 charters by his own hand still exist, most of them in the vernacular. He is the author of the *Reimchronik der Stadt Köln* (Rhyme Chronicle of the Town of Cologne), 6292 verses in German, completed in 1270 with an appendix added in 1271.

This work, with the manuscript title *Dat boich van der stede Colne*, is the first chronicle in German to focus exclusively on the history of a single city. After a short prologue the author recounts in a hagiographic retrospective how Cologne had been converted to Christianity, he reports the story of its first bishop Maternus, the martyrdom of St. Ursula and her 11000 companions and of St. Gereon and finally the legend of St. Silvester and the Emperor Constantine (V. 30–686). This legendary part serves as a

historical frame and is throughout connected to the main part of the Chronicle focussing on the contemporary history of Cologne between 1250 and 1271 (V. 687–6292): the saints of Cologne called upon in present needs and feuds grant protection from above to the defenders of municipal liberty (*der stede vriheit*) against the town lords, the archbishops.

The author himself was involved in all the major events of these two decades through his political and administrative positions and took part in many of them as an official or at least as an eyewitness. The main feuding parties in these years are the patricians and the archbishops, Konrad I of Hochstaden (1238–61) and Egelbert II of Falkenburg (1261–74). In 1250 a series of conflicts was triggered off by Archbishop Konrad's plan to mint a new coin, which was disputed by the citizens and strongly opposed. The ensuing fighting was settled by a treaty (*Sühne* reconciliation) of 1252 (the *Kleine Schied*). However, new conflicts followed, again settled by treaties which were broken by the bishop sooner or later. The key treaty of 1258 (the *Große Schied*) had been negotiated by Albertus Magnus, then lecturer at the Dominican house in Cologne, also the final treaty of 1271, the charter of which was read out to the citizens by Gottfried Hagen: *die sone Meister Godefrit over las, / die der stede schriver was* (the reconciliation charter was read out by Master Gottfried who was the town clerk: V. 6283f). Even some of the charters settling the conflicts were composed and written by Gottfried himself, who in his chronicle recounts the debates and the battles between the main urban groups: the archbishop who was in some of the feuds supported by the guilds and a fraction of the patricians, the *Weisen*, on one side, and on the other side the finally victorious group of the patriciate, the *Overstolze*. Gottfried, himself as a relative of the *Overstolze*, is thoroughly partisan, and accordingly, his account is throughout in favour of the party he belongs to.

Gottfried's descriptions of the controversies, debates and battles are very lively as he uses direct speech and dialogues to a great extent and wherever possible. He is a true *homo litteratus*, all-round-educated, competent in canon law and theology, and also familiar with German heroic literature, the stylistic means of which he uses to shape the battle scenes of his chronicle. His concentration on contemporary history is com-

parable to that of such other clerical chroniclers of the Rhine-Maas-area as → Jan van Heelu in his *Rymchronyk* (ca 1290) and the author of the *Schlacht von Göltheim* (before 1290). His combination of past and contemporary history is also found in the → *Rijmkroniek van Holland* (ca 1305) of Melis Stoke. Gottfried is the first contemporary chronicler to use vernacular language; his work marks the starting point of the later popular genre of town chronicles (*Städtechroniken*).

The *Reimchronik* has been transmitted in a Frankfurt manuscript (Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, ms. germ. oct. 26, written ca 1440), which was copied frequently from the 15th to the 18th centuries. There is also an older fragment: Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, Best. 7090 (Hss. aus Düsseldorf) C V 1, fol. 1–2, written 1st quarter 14th century. The text as transmitted in the Frankfurt manuscript was used in the later Cologne chronicles in prose, first by → Heinrich von Beeck 1469–72 in his *Agrippina*, and 1499 by the author of the → *Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen* (*Koelhoffsche Chronik*). The parts of these chronicles based on the *Reimchronik* are also contained in the edition of 2008.

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KURT GÄRTNER

Hagen, Henning

1440–ca 1503. Germany. Monk and provost at the Benedictine monastery of St. Ludger

(Ludgerikloster) in Helmstedt, Lower Saxony, where he probably taught at the local school. In 1490–91, Hagen wrote a Low German prose chronicle of the town of Helmstedt (*Der staed croneke to Helmstede*) covering approximately the years 1228 to his present, which survives in an autograph manuscript—Helmstedt, StA, cod. B18. The chronological order of the work, which was sparsely continued through the 16th century by another hand, is haphazard; its skeleton consists of some four hundred entries taken and translated from historical documents of the town archive, between which are inserted anecdotes about local personages and events. It was Hagen's goal to write a book that would educate his fellow citizens and provide them with models from the past (*dar man sek inne beschauwen unde bespeygelen mach*: in which one can look and see oneself), and from his fragmentary narrative a picture of town and church politics indeed emerges. Debates among city council members and lawsuits are related—seldom at length—as is much ecclesiastical correspondence, and some colour is provided by the mention of such things as street robberies and magical charms. The Eastphalian dialect of the chronicle is of special interest to linguists.

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VALENTINE PAKIS

Haimo of Auxerre

fl. 840–60. France. Monk and abbot. Probable author of a Latin chronicle. Haimo was a monk at the abbey of St-Germain in Auxerre and abbot at Cessy-les-Bois (Sasceium). He wrote a large number of very widely disseminated commentaries on biblical books; more than 100 manuscripts are known of his commentaries on the Canticles and on the Pauline Epistles. However, much of his work was misattributed to → Haimo of Halberstadt or to other writers such as Remigius of Auxerre.

He is probably the author of the *Historiae sacrae epitome, sive de Christianarum rerum memoria*, an epitome of the ecclesiastical history of → Eusebius in the Latin version of → Rufinus of Aquileia, abbreviated, but with material (sometimes of some interest) added in from a variety of sources (→ Nikephoros Patriarches, → Sozomen, the *Historia tripartita* of → Epiphanius scholasticus, and others). The chronicle runs from the life of Christ to the death of Emperor Honorius, ending explicitly where Rufinus does. A 15th-century manuscript containing the work, Munich, BSB, clm 19859 (formerly Tegernsee, ms. 1859) names simply the author Haimo. Several early printed editions (Hagenau, Cologne, 1531 etc.) of the *Epitome* exist, attributed sometimes to Haimo of Halberstadt.

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BRIAN MURDOCH

Haimo of Halberstadt

ca 780–853. Germany. Haimo studied together with Hrabanus Maurus at Fulda (and also under Alcuin at Tours), moved then to the abbey at Hersfeld, and in 840 was elected Bishop of Halberstadt, where he remained until his death on March 26, 853. Hrabanus wrote his *De Universo* for him. Numerous commentaries and other works were ascribed to Haimo of Halberstadt, but much has now been reassigned, in particular to → Haimo of Auxerre (fl. 840–60), who is probably the actual author too of the *Historiae sacrae epitome, sive de Christianarum rerum memoria*, an epitome of the ecclesiastical history of → Eusebius in the Latin version of Rufinus.

Bibliography

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BRIAN MURDOCH

Halberstädter Privatchronik (Private Chronicle from Halberstadt)

16th century. Germany. A compilation of various historiographical notes in German covering the years from 1500 to 1514 without chronological order. The unknown author refers to Halberstadt as his hometown and to the Duke of Lüneburg as his lord. The text is a collection of anecdotes about thunderstorms, fires, crimes, noble marriages, and some political events in the region between Halberstadt, Braunschweig, and Lüneburg showing the author's private historiographical interest. Occasionally, the narrative is in the first person, but some reports may have been copied from other sources.

The provenance of the chronicle is unascertainable. The philologist and poet Johann Friedrich August Kinderling copied an unspecified medieval manuscript from Halberstadt or Magdeburg at the end of the 18th century. In some instances he was unable to decipher the original so that the text that was handed down contains some gaps and misreadings. Nevertheless, his holograph is the only known source: Berlin, SB, ms. boruss. quart. 349.

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JAN ULRICH BÜTTNER

Hardyng, John

ca 1378–ca 1465. England. Northumbrian soldier and squire, spy, forger, and cartographer. Author of two versions of a chronicle in English verse. Born in Northumbria, ca 1378, Hardyng began his career as a soldier and squire to Sir Henry Percy (d. 1403). From 1403–37 he served Sir Robert Umfraville (d. 1437) and acted as a spy for Henry V in Scotland (ca 1418–21). By 1440 he was a corrodarian at the Augustinian priory at South Kyme, Lincolnshire, where he began composing the first version of his *Chronicle* (ca 1450).

Comprising 2674 rhyme-royal stanzas and seven folios of Latin prose, the first version was dedicated and presented to Henry VI in 1457, with forged documents concerning English hegemony over Scotland, which Hardyng claimed to have obtained in Scotland. This version covers

the history of Britain from its foundation to 1437 and includes a pedigree of Edward III's claim to France [Fig. 26] and a map of Scotland to complement Hardyng's frequent allusions to English suzerainty [Fig. 27]. The manuscript—most likely the presentation copy—was probably produced and illuminated in Lincolnshire. Written during the Wars of the Roses, Hardyng's observations about contemporary problems and Henry VI's weak governance are of paramount importance; whilst he does not explicitly criticise Henry's rule, he advises him to assert his authority and bring stability to the realm, stating that the law is currently twisted to fit each individual's needs, like the proverbially malleable *Walshmannes hose* (Welshman's breeches). This version is similarly remarkable for its chivalric outlook and incorporation of romance materials, particularly in the Arthurian section, which includes an unprecedented account of Galahad's grail quest. Extracts from the poetry of Chaucer, → Gower and → Lydgate are also integrated into the narrative, but Hardyng's principal sources are → Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Latin → *Prose Brut* (a version apparently related to the → *New Cronicles... of the Gestys of the Kynges of England* or its Latin source), → Bede, and → Robert Mannyng. This first version survives uniquely in BL, Lansdowne ms. 204, which is illustrated with a full page illuminated Pedigree of the English claim to the throne of France and a double page illuminated map of Scotland.

Shortly after 1457 Hardyng rewrote the chronicle, first dedicating it to Richard, Duke of York and then after the duke's death in 1460, to his son, Edward IV. Reducing the narrative to 1771 stanzas, he introduced genealogical material relating to York's royal lineage and expanded the coverage to 1463/4 (s.v. → Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin). Recycling his earlier sources, he suppressed much of the non-chronicle material and utilized new works, such as the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (s.v. → Lives of Henry V). Amongst other modifications, this version contains a revised account of Richard II's deposition and justifies the Percy and Scrope rebellions (1403 and 1405) with additional English and Latin prose passages. Nonetheless, the call for good governance and stability inherent in the first version remains the same.

The abrupt ending and preponderance of blank lines in the twelve surviving manuscripts and three fragments suggest that Hardyng died before

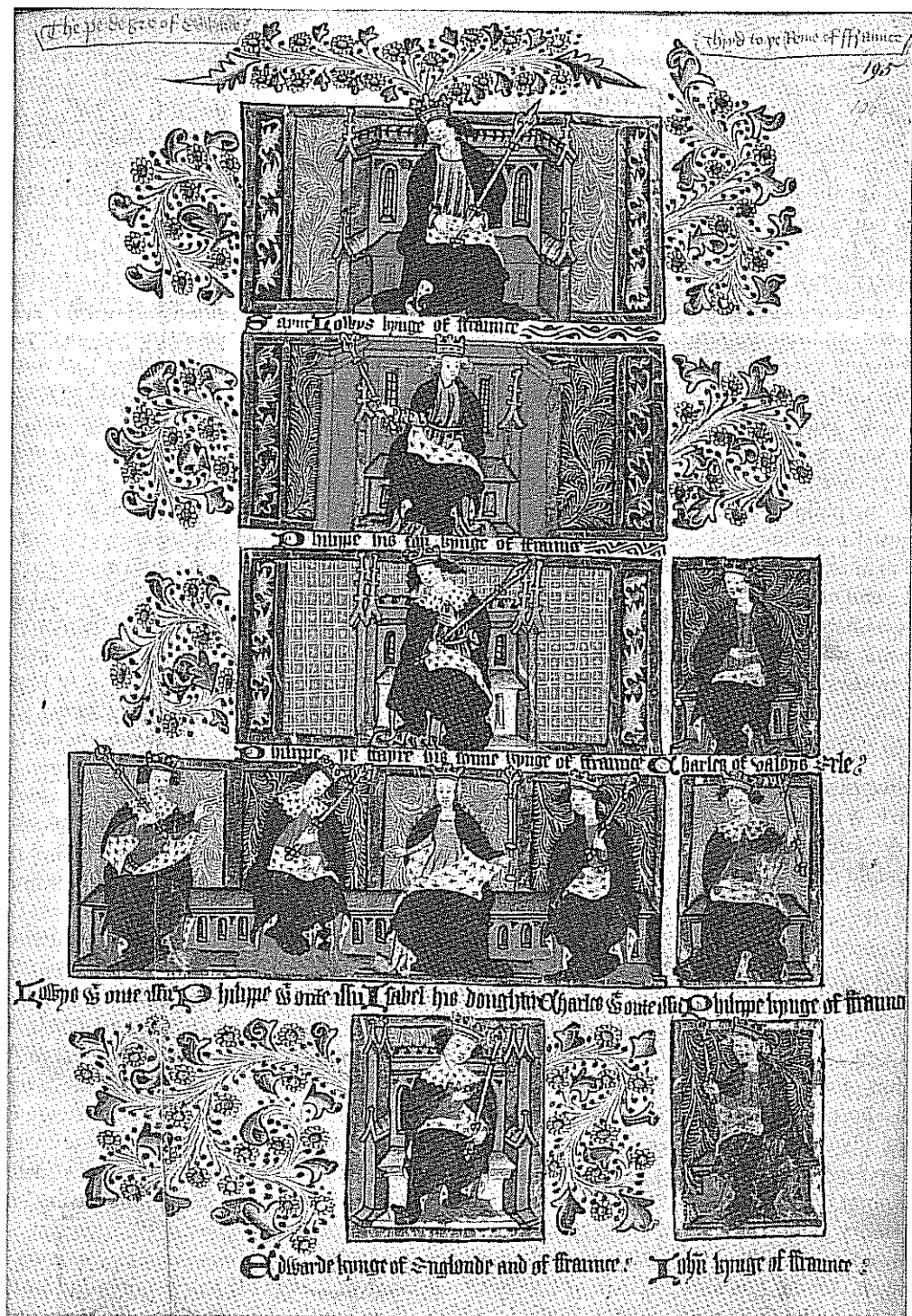


Fig. 26 Illuminated Pedigree of Edward III's entitlement to the French Throne from the first version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. London, British Library, Lansdowne 204, fol. 196^r. © The British Library Board.

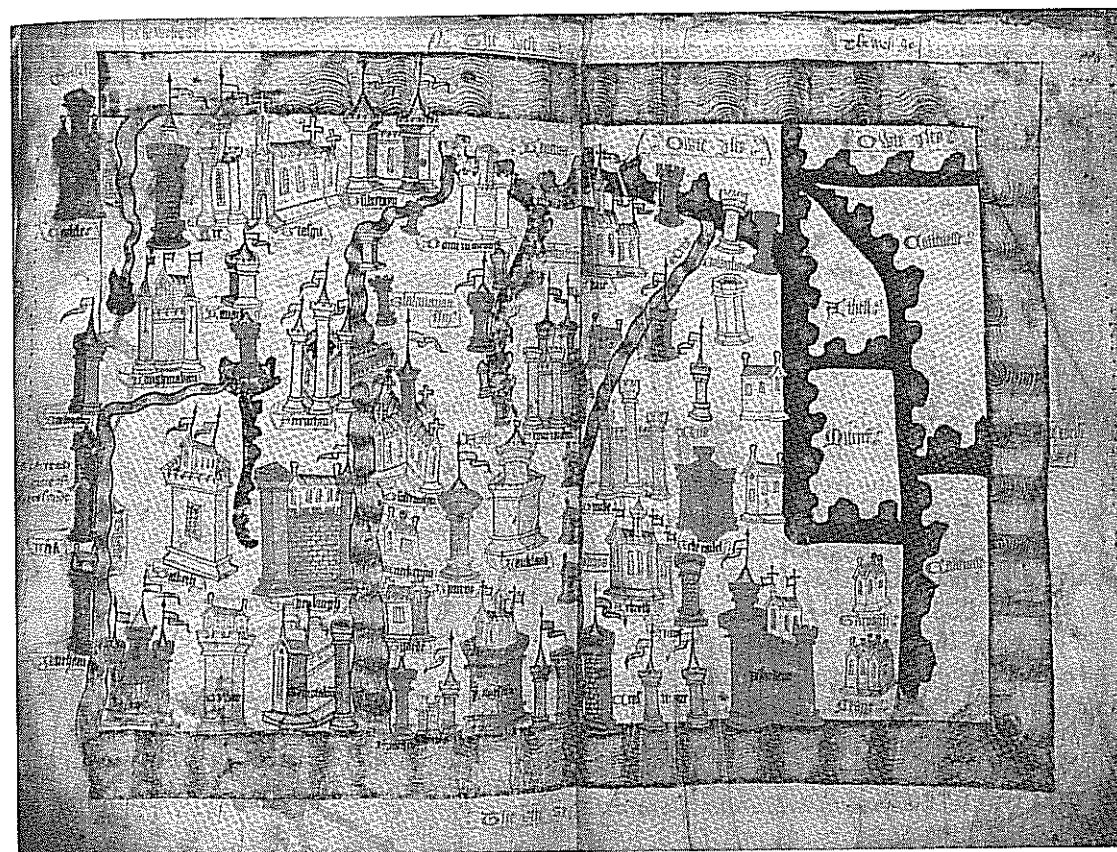


Fig. 27 Illuminated Map of Scotland from the first version of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. London, British Library, Lansdowne 204, fol. 226^v-227^r. © The British Library Board.

completing this version (ca 1465); however, it enjoyed greater popularity than the original and undoubtedly functioned as Yorkist propaganda in the 1470s, the period from which most of the manuscripts survive. The best manuscript of the second version, one of five decorated copies, is Oxford, Bodleian, Arch Selden B 10, which has a floral border all around the first folio, a small coat of arms for the reign of Brutus, and a beautiful line-drawn angel accompanying its Pedigree of France. Owned and probably commissioned by the Percy family, it is one of the earliest and fullest witnesses, exhibiting traces of Hardyng's northern dialect. The other decorated manuscripts are Cambridge MA, Harvard UL, ms. 1054; Princeton, UL, ms. Garrett 142; Bodleian Library, Ashmole 34; and BL, Harley ms. 661. This version was used by Malory, → Rous, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton and historians in the 15th–17th centuries. It was printed twice by Richard Grafton (both editions in 1543) with a prose continuation.

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SARAH L. PEVERLEY

Hariulf

ca 1060–1143. France. A Benedictine monk and author of the Latin *Gesta ecclesiae Centulensis* or *Chronicon Centulense*, a chronicle of the abbey of St. Riquier (Ponthieu) from its foundation in 625 until the end of the 11th century. Having completed a first version in 1088, Hariulf revised and completed the text with a description of the abbacy of Gervin II (1075–96) in 1104–05, before leaving St. Riquier to become abbot of St. Peter's in Oudenburg (Flanders). The chronicle

consists of four books, each a self-contained unit, written at different intervals. Book one centres on the foundation and contains a life of Richarius (d. ca 645). Book two focuses on the abbacy of Angilbert (d. 814), represented as the abbey's second founder. Angilbert's 9th and 10th-century successors are discussed in book three. Book four describes the abbacies of Enguerrand (d. 1045), Gervin I (d. 1085) and—after revision—Gervin II.

Commissioned by the monks of St. Riquier, the chronicle was intended as a collection of dispersed material on the abbey's history for the instruction of the brethren, thus preserving the information for posterity. Hariulf used a wide range of sources, many of which were available in the abbey's well-stocked library and archives: saints' lives and miracle stories such as Alcuin's *Life of Richarius*, chronicles such as the → *Liber Historiae Francorum*, the *Francorum regum historia*, the *Visio Karoli*, administrative documents (writings of Abbot Angilbert, a Carolingian inventory of the abbey's possessions), letters, epitaphs and catalogues of abbots. From the mid 9th century until his own time, charters and royal diplomas make up the framework of his narrative. Hariulf also drew on oral tradition. As the archives of the abbey were largely destroyed in 1131, Hariulf's account of the institutional history of St. Riquier, its administration, architecture, liturgy and relationship with the outside world constitutes a unique source of information. Although mainly compilatory for the earlier period, the chronicle offers a fascinating insight into 11th-century northern French society, its scope frequently surpassing the abbey walls.

→ William of Malmesbury was acquainted with Hariulf's narrative. A French translation and continuation until 1437 by a monk of St. Riquier has been lost. The autograph manuscript which perished in the abbey fire in 1719, was copied by A. Duchesne in the 17th century (Paris, BnF, lat., 12893, fol. 183–251). Duchesne's manuscript served as a basis for the *Editio princeps* by L. d'Achery in his *Spicilegium* of 1661 and was copied in Amiens, BM, 531 (17th century, from the abbey of Corbie) and Paris, BnF, lat. 11733, fol. 215–277 (17th century). However, preference should be given to the second, emended edition of the *Spicilegium* from 1723.

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BRIGITTE MEIJNS

Harley Brut

mid-13th century. England. Five anonymous fragments of an Anglo-Norman verse translation (3361 alexandrine lines) of books V–X of → Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Fragmentary codex: BL, Harley ms. 1605. BLAKEY analysed the features of these fragments, in particular the anonymous translator's respect for the source, although key elements related to Welsh place-names, the list of British earls and heroes, and Geoffrey's eulogies of Caerleon and York are omitted. There are expansions of Geoffrey's Latin text, especially in the use of direct speech, and of the Arthurian elements. As DEAN notes, it includes, and was probably the source of, the alexandrine version of Merlin's *Prophecies*.

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RALUCA RADULESCU

Hartmann von Heldringen

ca 1210–1282/83. Germany. Member of the Teutonic Order from 1234, Grand Master from 1273. Author of a *Bericht* (report) on the union of the Order of the Brethren of the Sword with the Teutonic Order in 1237, which was almost certainly composed in Middle High German, though the surviving text is Low German. Hartmann's authorship of the *Bericht* long remained controversial; the modern consensus accepts the attribution with the proviso that the text may have been edited (or even rendered into prose?) by a later hand. The vivid details of a sojourn at the papal court at Viterbo in 1237 presuppose an eyewitness. The *Bericht* undoubtedly belongs to the earliest texts of the Teutonic Order and bears comparison with the *Bericht* of → Heinrich von Hohenlohe, which is transmitted in the same manuscript (Vienna, ZDO, Hs. 205, dated 1514). Hartmann's *Bericht* was used by → Peter of Dusburg, → Hermann of Wartberge and by the author of the → *Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden*.

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GISELA VOLLMANN-PROFE

Hartwich of Győr

[Hartvicus episcopus Iauriensis; Hartvik, Hartwik, Chartvicius]

11th/12th century. Hungary. Author of a life of St. Stephen of Hungary presenting himself as Cartuicus episcopus. He is unknown from other sources, therefore he has been identified with other Hungarian bishops of the time of Coloman the Learned, mainly with Arduin, bishop of Győr. The surviving text opens with a letter of dedication to King Coloman. The work connects two earlier Legends of St. Stephen: the *Legenda maior* (ca 1083) and the *Legenda minor* (post

1083, possibly ca 1100) and their two different images of the ruler: as a pious Christian (*Legenda maior*) and as a strict, fair king (*Legenda minor*). The Legend was composed to the order of the king Coloman and reflected the idea of a strong power of a Hungarian ruler and the special role of the relationship to the Apostolic See. It has survived in ten manuscripts, plus one with fragments and four with a text of *Legenda Aurea*. The BARTONIEK edition follows Budapest, Oszk, clmae 17, 82^r–101^r and Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 69, 28^r–38^r, both early 13th century. BEREND published Graz, UB, ms. 1239, 22^r–5^r (14th century), an abbreviated version which was used by the → *Chronica Hungaro-Polonica*.

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RYSZARD GRZESIK

Hasištejnský of Lobkovice,

Bohuslav

1461–1510. Bohemia. Czech nobleman, representative of the Catholic humanism. Among his many writings there are two historically orientated texts with educational-political and satirical-critical traces: *De situ Pragae et incolentium moribus* (on the location of Prague and its deceased inhabitants), a Latin letter, in which he mentions topographical and historical facts about Prague since its foundation, and the Latin poem *Ad sanctum Venceslaum satira, in qua mores procerum et popularium patriae suae reprehendit* (satire for St. Wenceslas, in which he denounces the customs of nobles and population). In addition, he gathered the necessary material for a historical work, but this plan was not realized. The

main manuscripts of *De situ Pragae* are: Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, V u 4a and Prague, Národní knihovna, ID 3. *Ad sanctum Venceslaum satira* is preserved in two manuscripts, Vienna, ÖNB, 3271; Prague, Národní knihovna, 10 A 25.

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MARIE BLÁHOVÁ

Hauer, Georg

15th century. Germany. Historian and monk, born about 1440 at Schwanenkirchen (near the abbey of Niederaltaich at Deggendorf), date and place of death unknown. He was admitted to the abbey of Niederaltaich and became prior in the year 1478. In 1485 Hauer was chosen as administrator of the abbot Friedrich II, but actually held the position of the abbot. Because of several reproaches he fell in disrepute with the bishop and was under arrest at the abbey for several months in 1490. For the period after 1491 there is no further information on his life. He should be distinguished from the slightly later German grammarian and anti-reformation preacher of the same name.

Hauer was the author of a chronicle named *Gesta illustrium ducum Bavariae*, which is completely preserved in only one manuscript (Munich, BSB, clm 1214). The chronicle was commissioned by duke George the Rich of Landshut in 1479. It begins in the year 799 and contains several letters and speeches, for example a report of the conquest of the city of Negroponte on the Greek island of Euboea by Sultan Mohammed II, but it also deals with the history of the Carolingian and the Saxonian emperors as well as with the Bavarian dukes until his time. The chronicle is divided into two parts; a historical part is followed by a moral-political section in which Hauer explains how a statesman should reign. Hauer uses historical sources very intensively, among them

the chronicle of → Ekkehard of Aura, the *Speculum historiale* of → Vincenz of Beauvais and the *Chronicon de ducibus Bavariae* of → Andreas of Regensburg.

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CHRISTINA ABT

Hearne's Fragment

[A Remarkable Fragment of an Old English Chronicle]

1516–24. England. Perhaps associated with Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Surrey and 2nd Duke of Norfolk. Dealing with Edward IV, Yorkist in sympathy, and presenting itself as the author's personally witnessed recollections, the chronicle emphasizes events beginning with 1459, including Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville. It breaks off mid-sentence with an episode of 1470. According to its opening paragraphs, the author was prompted to write by the 1516 publication of Pynson's *New cronycles of Englande and of Fraunce*, with which he disagrees.

MORGAN proposes that this chronicle represents "the (fragmentary) memoirs of Thomas Howard" (?1443–1524), perhaps as reported to a member of his household. In his long career, Howard served several kings, including Edward IV. MORGAN also associates the fragment's claim of representing personal memory with the "prehistory" of the historical memoir as a genre whose development was belated in England, as compared to earlier examples on the continent. Although written in the early 16th century, this chronicle gives the author's recollections of events at the court of Edward IV and is frequently included in studies of 15th-century historical literature.

Known as "Hearne's Remarkable Fragment" from Thomas Hearne's 1719 printing (as an appendix to → Sprott's *Chronicle*), this brief chronicle has survived, incomplete at the end, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 845, where it is written into a genealogical text depicting

English kings from Edward I through Henry VII (see → Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin).

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CAROLINE D. ECKHARDT

Hebelin, Johannes, of Heimbach

1478–1515. Germany. Canon of Mainz. In 1500, Hebelin of Heimbach composed a *Historia Maguntina*, which is still preserved in the autograph. It is dedicated to Jakob Merstetter, a professor at the university of Mainz, and encompasses the period from the legendary founding of Mainz to the year 1484. In its main part the *Historia Maguntina* is a chronicle of the (arch) diocese of Mainz, which follows the succession of the bishops and archbishops. Scholarly research has mainly been interested in Hebelin's chronicle because of the inscriptions, in particular epitaphs, which are inserted into it. However the *Historia Maguntina* also contains an ecclesiastical topography of Mainz which leads the author to include a strong criticism of contemporary society. Another section which is of special interest deals with the early history of Germany. This passage at the beginning of the work is indicative of the author's participation in the Humanistic discourse on the German nation and shows Hebelin of Heimbach as an independent historian. The autograph is housed in Würzburg: UB, M. ch. f. 187, fol. 121–199^r.

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UTA GOERLITZ

Hechos del condestable don Miguel

Lucas de Iranzo

(Deeds of the constable...)

15th century. Castile (Iberia). This chivalric biographical chronicle of the Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, was patronised by Lucas himself. We have no certainty about its authorship: it might have been the work of his servant Juan de Olid, or of → Pedro de Escavias or Gonzalo de Mexía, who both loom large in the text.

A low-ranked nobleman who was brought to the court by leading noble (and the king's favourite) Juan Pacheco, Lucas had been honoured by Enrique IV with offices and privileges that gained him the envy and mistrust of a good part of the nobility, starting with Juan Pacheco himself, who was outraged that a man of low lineage should be appointed grand master before him. When he was named constable, he withdrew to Jaén and made of that place one of the few spots that remained loyal to the crown, devoting himself to the defense of the frontier with Granada and to the combat of his enemies, especially Pedro Girón, grand master of Calatrava and brother of Juan Pacheco.

The distribution of the facts in the text is irregular. The biennium of 1463–64, a crucial period for the consolidation of Lucas de Iranzo's image, stands out for the detail of the festivities and celebrations with which he built his own court, his project of urbanization, negotiations with Girón, honours bestowed by Enrique IV, and the exclusion from Jaén of those he considered traitors. The section on 1463–64, the core of the chronicle, was written first, with earlier events and Lucas' elevation to baron, count and constable added later. The chronicle ends in 1471, omitting his assassination in 1473. The *Hechos* are preserved in three manuscripts and two fragments, of which the best is Madrid, BNE, ms. 2092.

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FERNANDO GÓMEZ REDONDO

Heff, Leonhard

15th century. Germany. Professional scribe from Regensburg. Wrote a Latin world chronicle, the *Imago mundi*. Heff matriculated at the faculty of arts in Vienna in 1459, graduating in 1461. In 1466 he settled in Regensburg, where he copied a number of Latin literary texts, especially for clerical clients. He is last attested in 1476.

In 1470–71, under commission to the Regensburg city treasurer Erasmus Trainer, he made a German translation of the *Chronica summorum pontificum et imperatorum Romanorum* of → Andreas of Regensburg under the title *Buch von den römischen Kaisern und Päpsten*, which he endowed with a bilingual prologue, prefaced with material from the → *Sächsische Weltchronik*, and continued to 1471. There are three manuscripts; the autograph is in the BSB in Munich (cgm 6240).

In 1472–75, he compiled his *Imago mundi*, a large-scale world chronicle based on a wider range of sources, which fills 400 folios in the autograph (BSB, clm 26632, 109^r–499^r). In its encyclopedic layout and division into six aetates, it draws heavily on the *Speculum historiale* of → Vincent of Beauvais, extensive excerpts of which Heff had copied in 1468 and 1470. Other material was borrowed from the → *Flores temporum* and from his own translation of Andreas. In the autograph, the chronicle is preceded by a 90-page table of contents, which amounts almost to a self-contained historical reference work (fol. 2^r–93^r).

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B. STUDDT, *Fürstenhof und Geschichte*, 1992, 211–13. J. WOLF, *Die Sächsische Weltchronik im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, 1997, 53–58, 372–3. P. JOHANEK, *VL*² 3. *RepFont* 5, 396f.

BIRGIT STUDDT

Hegesippus

2nd century AD (fl. ca 160–80). Palestine. Perhaps a Palestinian Jew who around the middle of the 2nd century converted to Christianity and visited Rome, Corinth and other major ecclesiastical centres throughout the East and West. Author of historical notes in Greek. His intention was to document the ties between these various Christian communities and the primitive church so that he could defend the integrity of the apostolic tradition against the Gnostics and other heretical sects.

Around 180 he compiled his data in the five books of his *Memoirs* (Ἰστορικὴ μνημῆματα), which are completely lost except for a few excerpts preserved by → Eusebius, Philip of Side, and Stephen Gobarus. → Jerome, who did not know this work firsthand, supposed that it was a history of the church from Jesus' crucifixion down to Hegesippus' time (*De viris illustribus* 22). However, this inference is slightly misleading, for while the *Memoirs* did contain a wealth of antiquarian information (e.g. episcopal succession lists for Rome and Jerusalem and accounts of the apostles' martyrdoms), Hegesippus' principal authorial aim was not historical or historiographic, but anti-heretical. Manuscripts of the complete work were still extant in the 16th and 17th century, but no *editio princeps* was ever published.

A Latin paraphrase of → Josephus' *Jewish War* (*De bello Iudaico*) traditionally ascribed to Hegesippus is the work of an unknown author of the 4th century AD (ca 370).

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ANDREW J. CAIN

Heimo von Bamberg

ca 1085–1139. Germany. Disciple of → Frutolf von Michelsberg. Author of a Latin universal chronicle in seven books entitled *Consideratio annorum seculi et Christi Iesu* (1135), also known as *De decursu temporum*.

Heimo's work is notable for its preoccupation with computistic matters. In his *Consideratio* he dated the year of Christ's Passion to AM 4026. He accepted the Latin tradition that Christ had died on 25th March, but he corrected the corresponding age of the moon from luna xv into luna xiv, claiming that the Jewish luna xv is identical to the Roman luna xiv. According to the Roman luni-solar Easter cycles, therefore, Jesus Christ had died in the very first year of the Christian Era (AM 4026 = AD 1 = 34 VA; *verior assertio*). Recognizing the delicate character of his calculations, Heimo asked for the opinion of Burchard von Michelsberg (d. 1149). His critical remarks can be found in chapter 12 of the third book. This chronicle is one of the very few testimonies of the intellectual network in early 12th-century Bamberg.

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PETER VERBIST

Heinrich Taube of Selbach

[Heinricus Surdus (the deaf); Heinrich of Rebdorf]

ca 1300–64. Germany. Author of a compilation of homilies and biographies of the Eichstätt bishops of his time (1306–55) and a chronicle of emperors and popes. Born into a knightly family, he took a masters degree in law, after which

he worked at the papal rota in Avignon. From ca 1336 onwards he held a prebend in Eichstätt (Bavaria), and later acted also as chaplain to the bishop, penitentiary and member of the chancery.

The *Chronica imperatorum et paparum* was designed as a continuation of the → *Flores temporum* both in content and textual layout. Extant in two versions running to 1343 and 1363 respectively, it also includes events outside Germany and the papacy such as incidents during the Hundred Years' War. Heinrich's sources include the *Continuatio tertia* to → Hermann of Niederaltaich's *Annales* and many texts of canon law. The chronicle is particularly valuable for its account of the reign of Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian, on which Heinrich could comment more freely than on events of his own time. His judgments on the argument between Ludwig and Pope John XXII are moderate and full of legal considerations. Important manuscripts are Vienna, ÖNB, 3284 (version A) and Paris, BnF, lat. 10770 (version B1).

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WOLFGANG-VALENTIN IKAS

Heinrich von Beeck

mid-15th century. Germany. Author of the so-called *Agrippina* (1469–72), a German (Riparian) prose chronicle of Cologne. Next to nothing is known about Heinrich. His name is reported in town charters but without any statement on his status. More information can be adduced from 16 letters from the city of Cologne to a *Kaufhausmeister* Heinrich van Beecke in Mainz (1471–75), whom MEIER has identified as our author. This would suggest that after finishing the chronicle in Cologne in 1471/72, Heinrich went to Mainz to take a better job in the administration of archbishop Adolf. The name points to an origin on the border area between the Netherlands and the Low Franconian part of Germany.

Contrary to the author's statement that he continues to his own time, the chronicle ends in the year 1419 with only little information on later Roman Emperors (1438) and the Popes (1455). Beeck's *Agrippina* is the first town chronicle of

Cologne with universal background and focus on the empire: Cologne is presented as the *kronne bouen allen rychsteden* (the crown of all the imperial cities). Heinrich offers three foundation legends: Cologne is built by Marcus Agrippa, the son in law of Augustus, or by king Agrippa Silvius (926 BC) or many years earlier, as found in the Trebeta legend (before 1469 BC).

The autograph of 1469–72 and a number of copies are in Cologne (Historisches Archiv, Chronik und Darst. 19–23, 62). There is also a manuscript in Berlin (SB, msc. Boruss. fol. 478).

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JÜRGEN WOLF

Heinrich von Hohenlohe

ca 1200–49/50. Germany. Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Heinrich belonged to a noble dynasty attested since the mid-12th century, which had close connections with the Staufens. He began his career as Canon of Würzburg cathedral, but he joined the Order in about 1219/20, became a *Deutschmeister* in 1232, and Grand Master in 1244. In about 1247 he wrote or commissioned a record of the conquest of Prussia, which earlier scholarship ascribed erroneously to Hermann of Salza. It covers the period 1220–46 in a detailed and precise account. The text survives in a complete copy from 1514 (Vienna, ZDO, Hs. 205, fol. 108–118) and in a fragment from the 13th century (Berlin, SB, mfg 750). It influenced several other Prussian writings of the time, among them → Peter of Dusburg, the author of the *Translatio S. Barbarae* and possibly also → Nikolaus von Jeroschin. There are also parallels to the record of → Hartmann von Heldringen.

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CARSTEN KOTTMANN

Heinrich von Klingenberg

ca 1240–1306. Southern Germany. Royal *Pronotar* and Bishop of Konstanz. Presumed author of a lost Latin (?) chronicle of the house of Habsburg. In his *Konstanzer Bistumschronik* and in two places in his *Fürstliche Chronik*, the humanist Jakob → Mennel (died 1526) mentions a chronicle ascribed to the Konstanz Bishop Heinrich von Klingenberg. Heinrich, scion of a family of ministeriales from the Thurgau (Switzerland), was *pronotar* to King Rudolf of Habsburg (A *pronotar* was a senior administrator in the royal chancellery; Mennel calls him *graff Rudolffs caplan*, 'Lord Rudolf's chaplain'). Scholars have attempted to reconstruct this work, but Heinrich's authorship has been placed in question; even Mennel only spoke of a tradition associating it with him.

Despite 19th-century confusions, there is no connection between Heinrich and the so-called *Klingenberger Chronik*, a frequent but inaccurate designation for the → *Rapperswiler Chronik*.

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ANDREAS BIHRER

Heinrich von Mügeln

later 14th century. Germany. Saxonian poet and chronicler in Central German. Heinrich was active on the Elbe in the Meissen area (*pey der Elbe in dem land zü meissen*). Little is known about his biography; even his place of birth cannot be pinpointed exactly. He was long thought to have been a layman, but he clearly had a clerical education. Heinrich rates as an important and influential Middle High German lyricist, who wrote poetry with political, historical and allegorical content. He also composed a chronicle of Hungary which exists in a German and a Latin version. Unlike with his lyrics, however, there is no evidence of wide reception of the chronicle in the Middle Ages.

Heinrich's German prose *Ungarnchronik* describes Hungarian History from the Flood

until the year 1333 and is structured in 73 chapters. There are ten known manuscripts: Wrocław, BU, cod. R 304 (destroyed in the 1940s); Graz, LA, Fragm. Germ. 9; Heidelberg, UB, cpg 5; Munich, BSB, cgm 331; & cgm 1112; Bratislava, Ústredná knižnica SAV, cod. 443; Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2866 & 2919; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, cod. 19.26 Aug. 4° & cod. 20 Aug. 4°. It is based on a lost Latin chronicle related either to the → *Chronicon Budense*, or to the tradition of the → *Chronicon pictum* and the chronicle of János → Thuróczy (printed Brno 1488 and Augsburg 1488).

The Latin chronicle of the Hungarians (*Chronicon rhythmicum*) contains the history from the Flood to the year 1072, and hence is really only a fragment. It is well-composed and falls into four parts; the first two are identical in form (11 sections each, the first in prose, the remainder in rhymed rhythmical verses) but differ in length. Part 3 repeats this structure but inserts verses in famous melodies (*Töne*) from the German *Sangspruchdichtung*. Part 4 does likewise, but repeats sections from part 1 and ends abruptly, obviously unfinished. The Latin version is preserved in one 15th-century manuscript: Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 3352.

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CARSTEN KOTTMANN

Heinrich von München

post 1375. Bavaria-Austria. Author-persona, probably fictitious, of the most comprehensive world chronicle (*Weltchronik*) in Middle High German verse. The idea of writing a vast German vernacular verse chronicle from the creation to the present, which had been attempted in the mid-13th century by → Rudolf von Ems and the poet of the → *Christherre-Chronik*, though neither were completed, was taken up again in the last quarter of the 14th century and expanded in several stages to the comprehensive compilation

associated with Heinrich von München. For the *Alte Ee* (Old Testament history), its immediate predecessor is the → *Erweiterte Christherre-Chronik*, which unites the concepts of Rudolf and of the *Christherre*-poet, both structurally and in content, providing the basic framework, and in many respects already showing the characteristic traits of the final compilation.

The *Erstfassung* (first textual form) of the Heinrich von München chronicles appeared shortly after 1375, and was followed by a rapid sequence of revisions in which the text programme was progressively altered and expanded to over 100,000 lines, copied in a series of opulent large-format illustrated manuscripts. In the rubrics, this vast compilation is known simply as *die wibel und die choronick* (the Bible and the Chronicle), because it combines biblical with extra-biblical and post-biblical narrative. It was only in a relatively late phase of its evolution (version β) that the name of Heinrich as the author-compiler was inserted. In the prologue to the fifth age we read: *ich Hainreich von pair lant, ich von Pairn Heinrich*, and in the prologue to the sixth age: *ich Hainreich von Payernlant [...] von Munichen auz der stat*, so that actually "Heinrich von Baierland" (of Bavaria) would be the more authentic form of the name. "Heinrich" describes himself as the continuator of an earlier *meister* who had produced the text as far as 4 Kings, which could refer to the *Erweiterte Christherre-Chronik*, which does in fact break off at this point. However, it is believed that the intensive textual work which was invested in these manuscripts was the labour of one or several specialized → workshops in which teams of compilers, writers and illustrators worked closely together. Since the name Heinrich von München is not attested elsewhere, it is therefore possible it is merely a constructed persona for the scriptorium team. In the case of two manuscripts, Heinz → Sentlinger is named as the sole scribe, though it is uncertain whether textual alterations in these codices are to be attributed to him.

The *Neue Ee* (New Testament and post-biblical history of the Church and the Roman Empire) is based on Philipp's *Marienleben*, the → *Kaiserchronik*, the → *Sächsische Weltchronik* and the → *Flores temporum*. A number of German verse works of varying lengths were also partly or completely incorporated, and prose works in Latin and German were translated and versified. In the *Erstfassung*, the chronicle ends with an account of

the history of Charles the Great and Ludwig the Pious, including an abridged version (ca 12,000 lines) of the *Willehalm* cycle, a group of three courtly novels with the *Willehalm* of Wolfram von Eschenbach at its centre. Only in version β was the chronicle continued to Frederick II.

To bring order to this enormous mass of text, the scriptoria used a sophisticated system of illustrated initials, rubrics, and page headings to mark *Alte Ee* and *Neue Ee*, seven or six ages and the books of the Bible, separating them into chapters. The chapters in turn break down into sections of 20–40 verses, marked by simple initials. An extensive programme of illustrations is an integral part of the concept, and in the most fully decorated manuscripts can contain up to 240 miniatures. 18 complete manuscripts and fragments of 14 others survive. The principal manuscripts are: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. 1.5.2. Aug. 2^o; Berlin, SB, mgf 1416; Munich, BSB, cgm 7330; Erfurt/Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, cod. Chart. A 3. The fullest illustration cycle is in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 769.

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RALF PLATE

Heinrich von Tettikofen

d. 1438. Southern Germany. Konstanz patrician and town councillor. In 1430, he composed his *Chronik der Bürgerkämpfe*, a vernacular history of the internal struggles between the leading families and the guilds of his town, focussing his description on these conflicts and omitting the intervening political developments. Heinrich stylised the tensions from 1342 to 1428/30 as the history of the victory of the old élites: he writes from a patrician perspective, describing the rebellious artisans through their eyes. By far the fullest account is that of the last conflict, in which Heinrich himself was active on behalf of the leading families. The material on the earlier rebellions was

gathered from sources now lost to us, and adapted for his purposes. Heinrich's chronicle survives in its original conception in three manuscripts: Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 9236, Teil 2, 1^r–46^v (mid-16th century), Stuttgart, LB, cod. don. 609, 3^r–45^v (1585) and a third in a private collection dated 1551. The text was also incorporated into an anonymous 16th-century *Konstanzer Stadtchronik*, which circulated widely in a number of starkly heterogeneous versions, the compilers generally inserting Heinrich's work section by section into their own annalistic structure.

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ANDREAS BIHRER

Helewegh, Hermann

[Hermann Westval]

1420/30–89. Livonia (Eastern Baltic). Author of a *Boek der croniken der Kerkholmesschen degedinge* (book of the chronicles of the negotiations in Kirchholm) in Low German prose. Helewegh was a clerk to the Riga town council, and a member of the council from 1480 until his death. On their behalf he wrote what is probably the only Livonian town chronicle, describing the late 15th-century conflicts between the archbishop of Riga and the Teutonic Order for overlordship of the town, and the town's own struggle for independence of both. The 1452 treaty of Kircholm (Salaspils) was a key turning-point in the controversy. There is also an account of the dispute regarding the archbishop Michael Hildebrand in the 1480s.

In 1674 the autograph was destroyed by a fire in the Riga city archives, but the chronicle survives in two manuscripts in the Central Historical Public Archives of Latvia (Latvijas Valsts Vesures Arhivs) in Riga: a mid-17th-century copy in High German by Johann Witte (Fonds, 4038, 2, 100) was in turn copied in the 18th century by Hermann von Brevern (Fonds, 4038, 2, 86), on which the *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum* edition is based. Another copy published by Friebe is probably lost.

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THOMAS BRÜCK

Helgesen, Poul

[Paulus Helie]

ca 1485–1534. Denmark. The "Thomas → More of Denmark" was a Carmelite monk and schoolmaster in Helsingør (in Sealand). He broke with Christian II (1513–23) in 1522, but remained a Catholic reformer under Frederik I (1523–33), who tended to favour Lutheran preachers. Helgesen composed a large number of writings (mostly in Danish) in many genres, some of them inspired by his hero Erasmus. These include a translation into Danish of *Institutio principis Christiani*. Among his historical works (written in Latin), the most important are the *Compendiosa et succincta regum Daniae historia*, a compilation of the 1520s advocating the rights of the church and the Union of the Nordic kingdoms, and especially the *Skibby Chronicle* named after the church where the unique manuscript was found in the 17th century.

The *Skibby Chronicle* is a very valuable first-hand account by the losing side in the Danish Reformation. The first part of the manuscript is a fair copy of a ready composition, whereas the latter part is a draft made towards the end of Helgesen's life, breaking off in the middle of a sentence about events in 1534. It is the story told by a bitter and impassioned cleric who is certain that the high-ranking people who support the Lutheran side will eventually be punished. Under normal circumstances such an account would not have survived, but it was hidden in the church of Skibby and is now in Copenhagen, Arnamagnæanske Institut, AM 868 4°.

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LARS B. MORTENSEN

Hélinand of Froidmont

ca 1160–post 1229. France. Hélinand was a *trouvère* before becoming a monk at Froidmont (Cistercian) ca 1182. He is last heard of participating in the foundation of the University of Toulouse in 1229. Amongst other works he composed between 1211 and 1223 a Latin universal chronicle from the Creation to 1204 in 49 books, only some of which survive. Two manuscripts, including Bonn, UB & LB, S 363, contain Books 1–18 (up to Alexander the Great), while a 16th-century edition has 45–49 (covering 634–1204). Hélinand cites his sources (authors and titles), even giving contradictory versions when his sources differ. There are numerous digressions, often consisting of his own sermons and treatises. The work, already in fragmentary form, was the main source for → Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Maius*. → Alberich of Troisfontaines used the last five books for his chronicle.

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RÉGIS RECH

Helmold of Bosau

ca 1120–post 1177. Germany. Author of a chronicle of the Slav lands. Hermold was an Augustinian monk, born probably in the Harz region (Lower Saxony). He was educated at Segeberg, Neumünster and Braunschweig (under Gerold, later bishop of Oldenburg and Lübeck), and in 1150 he became deacon and then priest in 1156 at Bosau.

Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* was written in 1163–72 at Gerold's request. Composed in two books, the *Chronica* describes the history of the lower Elbe region from the 8th to the 12th century, containing numerous reports from the history of the Empire. The *Chronica* is also the most important contemporary history of the reign of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony. Book I focuses on the Saxon colonization and Christianisation of the Slavic inhabitants from the times of Charlemagne to Gerold's death. Book II covers especially the mission of the Baltic Sea region. The main source for the period before 1066 was → Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*; later accounts refer to regional chronicles as well as to works he used from memory. The *Chronica* is a well-planned work, showing both the relation between Germans, Slavs and Scandinavian and the clash between the secular and clerical powers in the Empire. Helmold uses a harmonising concept of storytelling throughout, so that failures in the Christianisation process are followed by successful events, and military actions by peaceful times.

The *Chronica* was continued by → Arnold of Lübeck. It survives in three manuscripts: Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute, AM 30 2° and Kongelige Bibliotek, Additamenta 50 2°; and Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, ms. hist. 4° 4. All three also contain Arnold of Lübeck.

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LEILA WERTHSCHULTE

Hemricourt, Jacques de

1333–1403. Low Countries. Mayor of Liège. Author of a chronicle of local history in French. Hemricourt was secretary to the deputy mayors of Liège, the town solicitor, then the mayor from 1389, and finally a knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (1397 or shortly thereafter). His writings provide one of our best sources for the chivalric culture in the Low Countries in this period. His editors praise him as a far more serious and reliable historian than his contemporary → Jean d'Outremeuse.

Hemricourt worked on his *Cronicque* or *Miroir des nobles de Hesbaye* (Mirror for the nobility of Hesbaye) for over forty years (1353–98). It surveys the genealogies and the knightly customs of the nobility of Hesbaye (Haspengouw), to the north-west of Liège, over a period of two centuries (1102–1398), and is our sole source for much of the stories of Raes de Dommartin and Alix de Warfusée. Hemricourt borrowed material from the → *Chronicon Leodiense usque ad a. 1402*, oral accounts, cathedral archives, and the archives of the deputy mayor. The work was printed with modernised language by De Salbray in Brussels in 1673.

Hemricourt's *Le traité des guerres d'Awans et de Waroux 1290–1398* (The treatise on the Wars of the Awans and the Waroux) is regarded by its editor as a continuation of the *Miroir*. It chronicles a late medieval private feud, consisting of sieges and raids between two families of the Liège area, with an interesting account of a duel fought in 1298. The *Traité* is based mainly on oral reports, though it may have used the work of → Humbert de Pas de Wonck.

The *Miroir* and the *Traité* are transmitted together in some 27 manuscripts, the best of which are Liège, BU, ms. 664 (15th century), and Brussels, KBR, 524, 5739–40 & 10312–13.

Hemricourt also wrote a *Patron del temporaliteit*, a survey of the political institutions of the principality. It was to be organized in three parts, first a discussion of theories of sovereignty applied particularly to the prince-bishopric of Liège, the second a codification of local law, and the third a more discursive study, but only the first part was completed, and it was instead continued with the transcription of some official documents. It was widely read in his own lifetime, and seems to have been regarded as a source of authoritative judgments in legal disputes.

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GRAEME DUNPHY

CHRISTIAN DURY

Henri de Valenciennes

ca 1170–post 1210. Byzantium. Cleric and canon of Saint Sophia in Constantinople. Author of two works in French, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri de Constantinople* (The History of Emperor Henry of Constantinople) and the earlier *Vie de Saint Jean l'Évangéliste* (The Life of St John the Evangelist).

The *Histoire* is an account of the period 1208–9 in the reign of the Emperor Henry of Flanders and was composed in two parts in 1208 and 1209, probably for Pierre de Douai. This is a description of the campaigns against the dissident Lombard crusaders in Thessaloniki and the Bulgarians under their new ruler, Boril. Henri deeply admires the Emperor, who is presented as a wise and skilful ruler and general. His literary style shows the influence of both courtly literature and romance. It is written in stylish Old French and displays a sense of the dramatic. His work was regarded by earlier scholars as a continuation of the narrative of → Geoffrey of Villehardouin but that view is now rejected. There is a clear gap (September 1207–May 1208) between the end of Villehardouin

and the start of Valenciennes. Despite his admiration for the Emperor, Henri gives an honest and straightforward account of events up to 1209, but may have had to leave the work unfinished as there are indications that further sections were planned. It survives in four manuscripts and as part of compilations in a further two, all in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. The most authoritative is BnF, fr. 12203.

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PETER S. NOBLE

Henric van Arnhem

[Henricus Arnhemensis]

15th century. Low Countries. Member of the Brethren of the Common Life, the movement of religious reform founded by Gerard Groot. Procurator of the house of Brethren of St. Hieronymusdal in Delft and later rector of the house of the Brethren in Gouda. Author of a Latin chronicle of the community of Brethren, written in 1483. Died ca 1483/6.

Henric's chronicle, entitled *De primo ortu et successu domus clericorum in Gouda*, or *Kroniek van het fraterhuis te Gouda*, covers the history of the house from the foundation in 1419 until 1456, when it ends abruptly. Either only a part was realised or the subsequent chapters were later lost. The importance of the text lies primarily in the insight it gives on the laborious creation and development of the house in an urban environment during a period of religious revival, when the ideology of the Brethren was being spread. It is also interesting because of the incorporation of a library catalogue of the house.

The paper autograph manuscript, which forms the last part of the cartulary of the house, is Gouda, *Stedelijke Librije*, 951.

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NICOLAS MAZEURE

Henry of Balsee

[Henricus; Heinrich; Hinriks; Hinricus de Baaltze]

14th–15th century. Northern Germany. Author of a town chronicle of the Hanseatic town of Wismar. Henry was a clericus in the diocese of Schwerin and served in the officialate from 1369 to 1373. He was town chronicler (*scriptor civitatis*) 1376–96, and notary (*notarius, protonotarius*) 1411–14 and perhaps 1428. He died after 1428.

His *Chronica nova Wismariensis* (*Chronicon Wismariense*), started in 1384, contains episodes of Wismar town life from 1323 to 1385. The aim of the chronicle was to retain memorable events of relevance for present and future council members. They were to be presented for retrospection and admonishment. Most accounts refer to his lifetime, using the *Willkürebuch* of the council as a source for events beyond his personal experience. His style is rather clumsy and the selection of records is astonishing. He left unmentioned for example the plague epidemic, the fire which destroyed the town house and the naval battle of 2nd July 1364, all events deeply connected to Wismar and too close to have been forgotten at his time. Structure and wording show significant analogies to typical town chronicles, featuring a pragmatic sense of historiography, centered around the *notabilia facta* which are intended to provide exempla.

The manuscript used for the partial edition of 1741 was already lost when the critical edition was made in 1878. Unfortunately the surviving excerpts extend to only six pages. However, another witness is offered by Bernhard Latomus (d. 1613), who used Henry's chronicle for his *Genealochronicon Mecklenburgicum*.

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CLAUDIA ORSINGER

Henry of Bernten

15th century. Germany. Author of the *Chronicon monasterii Marienrodensis*, the Latin chronicle of the Cistercian abbey of Marienrode near Hildesheim (Lower Saxony). The first letter of each chapter forms an acrostic stating the authorship: *Hinricus abbas Marienrode me fequit*. Writing in 1454 Abbot Henry narrates the monastery's history from its foundation in 1245 to the said year. He divides the abbey's past into three phases: 70 years of living according to the monastic rule, 70 years of aberration from the rule, and 70-odd years of having returned to the rule. Two themes are especially important to the author: Cistercian monastic reform, especially under his predecessors and in the affiliated monasteries; and the building of the church and cloisters at Marienrode. More than half of the chronicle deals with Henry's own abbacy, thus becoming a sort of memoir. Henry was elected abbot as a young man in 1426 in spite of being physically ill and of weak body. But he had already held most monastic offices at Marienrode so that he had the experience necessary for an abbacy. Aside from the topos of humility about his writing, Henry provides interesting insights into his own achievements concerning the building of the cloisters and monastic life according to the reform ideals of the 15th century. The only copy is in a miscellany containing various historical texts concerning Marienrode: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, cod. Guelf. 18.10 Aug. 4. (16th century). The chronicle was continued up to 1580 by an unknown author, describing the completion of the church in 1462 and the death and entombment of Henry of Bernten in 1463.

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JAN ULRICH BÜTTNER

Henry of Blanford

[Blaneforde, Blankeforde, Blancfront]

early 14th century. England. Author of Latin annals. Monk of the Benedictine abbey of St Albans in Hertfordshire, of whom virtually nothing else is known. Mentioned by → Thomas Walsingham, he is the continuator of the Latin prose *Annales* of → John of Trokelowe. The brief text is preserved in the 14th-century. St Alban's manuscript BL, Cotton Claudius ms. D.vi (fol. 210a–215b). Henry of Blanford's *Chronica* covers only the years 1323–4, beginning with the truce with the Scots, and ending with French-English negotiations. He seems, however, to know of later events, so the work is not immediately contemporary.

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BRIAN MURDOCH

Henry of Diessenhofen

[Heinrich Truchseß von Diessenhofen]

ca 1300–76. Switzerland. Papal chaplain, Choirmaster in Beromünster, Canon of Konstanz cathedral.

Henry belonged to a family from Eastern Switzerland which stood in the service of the Habsburgs: hence their soubriquet *Truchseß* ('royal steward'). He studied in Bologna, graduating with the title of *Doctor Decretorum*, and was

then appointed choirmaster and *Kustos* (second most senior official) at the collegiate church in Beromünster. From 1330 until 1337 he served the Habsburgs at the papal curia in Avignon, and is attested as a papal chaplain from 1336. By 1343 he was resident mainly in Konstanz where he held a benefice at the cathedral. Repeated attempts to gain appointment as a bishop or at least as a provost of the cathedral proved unsuccessful. Despite close connections with both the Pope and the Habsburgs, and despite an excellent education, his career stagnated in the last 30 years of his life.

Henry was a legal specialist. His extensive donations to the cathedral library also bear witness to his broad interest in theological questions. However, these interests are barely reflected in his relatively short Latin continuation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica nova* of → Ptolemy of Lucca (d. 1327). Henry makes only slight alterations to Ptolemy's text, expands it with a number of vitae of Pope John XXII, and then proceeds with an original chronicle of the subsequent decades. This diverges gradually from its original intention of providing a history of church and papacy. The chronicle survives in six manuscripts. Five of these stop in 1337 and represent the Avignon version; only the Munich codex clm 21259, fol. 265–295 contains the Konstanz version, running to 1361.

Henry's annalistic narrative style reflects the contemporary preference for short narrative units. He was interested in the recent history of his local area. Beginning with papal biographies, he increasingly turns to the Popes' conflict with Emperor Ludwig, which he narrates from the perspective of the curia, but also with an eye to the consequences for the South-West of the empire, in which he himself was involved. With the election of Charles IV, whom he hails as a new Alexander, his main theme is therefore concluded. In the centre of his account is always the steadfastness of the bishop and cathedral capitulary against all foes: Ludwig, the mendicant orders and the burghers of Konstanz are all portrayed negatively, but Papal policies are also sometimes viewed critically. In the final section, Henry makes short notes on events around Europe, the Empire, South-West Germany and Konstanz, then breaks off abruptly.

Henry's sources, like his sympathies, are more papal and Konstanz-based than Austrian. His strident position on the imperial-papal conflict or on church reform refutes the long-held view that

he sought to report events even-handedly. There is little evidence of a wider influence of his work among his contemporaries.

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ANDREAS BIHRER

Henry of Heimburg

1242–after 1300. Austria. Born in Heimburg (Lower Austria), he was ordained as a priest 1279. In the 1270s Heinrich probably worked in Austrian Gmünd. He compiled Latin annals of Bohemia from the mythical beginnings to 1300 (*Annales Heinrici Heimburgensis*, also called *Cronica Bohemorum*). The initially short annals follow the abridgement of the *Imago mundi* of → Honorius Augustodunensis in the manuscripts. For the 13th century, more information is available. Heinrich's sources include annals from Austria, the chronicle of → Cosmas of Prague and legends. He describes the events of the 1270s and early 1280s independently and in detail, with admiration for Přemysl Otakar II. In addition to events in Bohemia and Moravia, the author also mentions affairs in other countries. The annals survive in two 15th-century manuscripts, copied with numerous mistakes (Berlin, SB, ms. lat. fol. 136; Stuttgart, LB, HB I 91; ca 10 folios).

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MARIE BLÁHOVÁ

Henry of Herford

ca 1300–70. Germany. Dominican from Minden (Westphalia). Author of a world chronicle. There is little evidence for the life of Henry of Herford. He was presumably born in Herford in Westphalia. After spending his early years in his native town he joined the *ordo praedicatorum* as early as 1328 and was supposedly professed in Soest. Henry spent most of his life at the monastery St. Paul in Minden. His stay in Lemgo on 24th April 1328 is the first historically verifiable date in his biography. In 1340 he represented the province of Saxony at the general assembly of the Dominican Order in Milan as *Definitor*. According to → Hermann of Lerbeck, Henry died on 9th October 1370. Seven years after his death Charles IV ordered his mortal remains to be conveyed to an honorary grave located near the high altar of the Dominican church of Minden. This act indicates his wide reputation among his contemporaries.

Besides his chronicle, only two works from his entire opus have been preserved. The *Catena aurea encium vel problematum series* (Golden chain of existence, Vatican, BAV, cod. lat. 4310 and cod. lat. 3025) is an encyclopaedia that covers philosophical and natural scientific topics. The theological subject of Henry's other work is indicated by its title, *De conceptione virginis gloriosae* (the conception of the glorious Virgin).

In his Chronicle, *Liber de rebus et temporibus memorabilibus sive Chronicon*, Henry depicts world history according to the Augustinian scheme in six *aetates*, ranging from Genesis to the coronation of Charles IV (1355). Thus 1355 is the *terminus post quem* of his writing. The value of the Chronicle results from Henry's role as an eyewitness for the last part (1320–55) as well as from the wide base of the partially lost sources he used. At this point only his key sources can be identified, namely the Chronicles of → Vincent of Beauvais, → Martin of Opava, → Ekkehard of Aura and → Levold von Nordhof.

Of the six *aetates* only the beginning of the first and the last three have been preserved in four manuscripts from the 15th century. Two of these were kept in Wolfenbüttel, HAB, cod. Helmst. 11a & b. The former was written in 1404 by John de Bure while the latter was copied at the beginning of 15th century by an anonymous scribe. These manuscripts encompass the *Prologus* and the beginning of the first *aetas*, as well as the whole of the sixth. Another manuscript is extant in Trier, Bistumsarchiv, Abt. 95 Nr. 99. The fourth manuscript was copied in 1468 by Johannes Lachen at the monastery in Minden and contains the last Chapters of the sixth *aetas*. It is preserved in Berlin, SB, lat. fol. 224. Extracts from Henry's chronicle are also extant in Soest, StB, cod. 34 under the titles *Chronologia comitum de Marca* (before 1394) and *Chronicon episcoporum Coloniensium*. These were formerly ascribed to → Jacob of Soest, but are no longer regarded as separate works.

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TIM WEITZEL

Henry of Huntingdon

ca 1080–1160. England. Secular clerk, archdeacon of Huntingdon, and author of *Historia Anglorum* in Latin prose with some verse. Henry of Huntingdon served as archdeacon in the household of Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln and afterwards served Alexander of Blois, who commissioned the *Historia Anglorum*. Henry composed and revised his work between 1129 and 1154. His prose and verse chronicle surveys English history from the coming of Julius Caesar in 43 BC to the accession of Henry II. In its final form, the chronicle contained twelve books: 1) the Kingdom of the Romans in Britain, 2) the Coming of the English, 3) the Conversion of the English,

4) the Kingdom of the English, 5) the Danish Wars, 6) the Coming of the Normans, 7) the Kingdom of the Normans, 8) Exalted Matters (including the Epilogue, Letters to Henry I, Warin the Breton, and Archdeacon Walter, *De contemptu mundi*), 9) the Miracles of the English, and 10) the Present Time. It includes a Latin metrical translation of *The Battle of Brunanburgh* (s.v. → *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*). The 11th and 12th books contain a series of epigrams on such topics as truth, satire, and love.

Henry drew on → Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* for the earlier part of his work, beginning with a geographical description of Britain. For this part he also used → Paul the Deacon, → Marianus Scotus, and the → *Historia Brittonum*, once attributed to Nennius. For the First Crusade he apparently drew on the → *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* or an abbreviated redaction. Book 9 draws on Bede and on legends. He may also have used → William of Malmesbury or → Orderic Vitalis. When → Robert of Torigni gave him a copy of → Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, Henry incorporated passages into his "Letter to Warin" in book 8. GREENWAY also suggests that he drew upon Anglo-Saxon verse, lost annals, a lost life of St. Helena, a lost tract on St. Albans, oral tradition, and possibly unidentified French vernacular sources.

The *Historia Anglorum* reflects Henry's interest in his home, Lincoln, in the Arthurian legend, and in moralization, that is, in making history meaningful by noting God's interventions to punish the guilty or reward the righteous, especially with respect to the succession of kingdoms in England. His dedicatee, Alexander of Blois, was loyal to King Stephen during the dispute between the King and the Empress Matilda, and book 10 reflects this. Henry appears to have intended his chronicle for private study, for a larger audience of lesser educated people who might hear it read aloud, and, as he suggests in his prologue, as a relief from suffering and a comfort in affliction.

Seventy-three manuscripts are known. GREENWAY identifies six major versions, and uses BL, Egerton ms. 3668 (books 1–10), Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 280 (end of book 10), and London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 118 (books 11–12) as base texts for her edition. Henry's *Historia Anglorum* was well-received in his time, as several extant 12th-century manuscripts attest, and in later centuries. It was a source for Robert

de Torigni and for Ranulf → Higden. The *editio princeps* is Henry Savile's *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam* (1596).

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JANE BEAL

Henry of Livonia

[Heinrich von Lettland; Henricus Lettus]

ca 1188–post-1259. Germany, Eastern Baltic. Author of the first Livonian chronicle, *Chronicon Livoniae*. He probably came from the village of Poppendorf near Magdeburg, and spent his childhood in a monastery in Segeberg, Holstein, where he learned Estonian and Latvian while staying with hostages brought from Livonia. He came to Riga in 1205, where he stayed at the court of bishop Albert von Riga. In 1208 he was ordained a priest by him. He received the parish of Papendorf (Rubene) on the river Ymera (Latvian-Estonian border), where he probably stayed until the end of his days. He took part in military operations as a guide and translator.

The chronicle was written in prose during the years 1225–27. It has a simple construction, modelled on the Vulgate, breviaries and missals. It is the main source for research on the beginnings

of German settlement in Livonia and the history of the local tribes, and includes descriptions of battles and diplomatic negotiations. It is very reliable, as the author took part in the events he describes, or based his descriptions on the reports of eyewitnesses as well as documents. He dedicated his chronicle to *domini et socii Rigenses*.

Sixteen copies of the chronicle from the beginning of the 14th up to the 18th century have survived, though not all are complete. The oldest preserved manuscript, the only copy written on parchment, is the so called *Codex Zamoscianus* (Warsaw, Polska Biblioteka Narodowa, BOZ cim. 28, early 14th century). Though incomplete (it ends at chapter 24), it is the basis of all the newer editions. Later copies, kept in libraries and archives in Germany, Riga and Tallinn, are less reliable; the so called *Codex Oxenstierna* (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 110, 15th or 16th-century), the basis for the *editio princeps* (J.D. Gruber, 1740) and of the first translation of the chronicle into German (J.G. Arndt, 1747), presents the content modified according to classical humanist ideals and as such is often misleading.

The chronicle was used, among others, by → Hermann of Wartberge, Theodor Nagel (2nd half of the 15th century), Albert → Krantz (turn of the 15th to the 16th century), Augustin von Gethelen (16th century), Thomas Kantzow (d. 1542) and probably Balthasar Russow.

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PAWEŁ JEZIORSKI

Henry of Marleborough

[Marleburgh]

d. in or after 1421. Ireland. Author of a chronicle of the years 1133–1421, entitled *Cronica excerpta de medulla diversorum*. The name Marleburg appears in Dublin records from 1219 and Henry Marlborough, clerk, is rector of Kylladown (1398), vicar of Balscadden (1412) and vicar of Donabate (1413). The last mention of his name is a letter of attorney for a journey granted on 22 April 1421. His death is recorded in the *Book of Obits and Martyrology* of Holy Trinity priory, Dublin, under 12 May, but with no year given.

The early section of the chronicle draws heavily on → Pembridge but, importantly, Marlborough has information for the 14th and 15th century not found elsewhere, such as the claim of benefit of clergy in 1332 which saved the life of Walter de Bermingham while his father was executed. Marlborough gives a rare insight into the men of Dublin acting as part of the king's military force in Britain and has the unique information that during an incursion to Wales in 1405 they stole the shrine of St. Cubbins (Caergybi/Holyhead) and gave it to Holy Trinity in Dublin. Interest in relics is also demonstrated in his diatribe against the bishop of Cashel who allegedly took a ring from the image of St. Patrick for his concubine.

Marlborough also has rare information about the Irish parliaments and under the year 1415 he claims that the Irish always used such occasions for attack. A valuable point of information in 1420, which mirrors similar complaints a century earlier by Pembridge, is that John Talbot, late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, left without paying for goods he had taken by purveyance.

The text of Marlborough's annals survives in two manuscripts, Troyes, BM, MS 1316; and London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E.v. Parts were printed in William Camden's *Britannia*, of 1607, and in *Ancient Irish Histories: the Chronicle of Ireland*, collected by Meredith Hammer, 1571, which was published in 1633 in an edition by Sir James Ware, reissued in 1809.

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BERNADETTE WILLIAMS

Henry of Silegrave

13th century. England. Nothing is known of this author of a short Latin chronicle of England except his name, which appears at the beginning of his chronicle: *Henricus de Silegrave scripsit Chronicon Angliae*. The chronicle is preserved in one 13th-century manuscript, BL, Cotton Cleopatra, A.xii and narrates events from the arrival *de primis Germaniae populis* through the reign of Henry III, ending with his death in the year 1272 with additional brief notes to 1274. Since he includes a list of the names of the archbishops of the Church of Canterbury and a list of religious houses in Scotland and Wales, it can be inferred that he was a monk, probably born in Sulgrave, Northamptonshire. HOOK hypothesizes that he may have been the abbot of Ramsay mentioned by → Elias of Trickingham in his annals. If this authorship is accepted, the last part of the chronicle must have been written by another hand because the abbot of Ramsay died in 1268. GRANSDEN, on the other hand, associates him with the Benedictine priory of St. Martin's, Dover.

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LUCIA SINISI

Henry of Žďár

[Henricus Sarensis; Henricus Sculptor]

1242-post 1300. Germany, Czech lands. Son of the builder and stonemason Ekward who settled in Žďár (German Saar) in the Bohemian and Moravian Highland (now Žďár nad Sázavou,

Czechia) in 1257, to work on the construction of the Cistercian monastery. Henry studied at the monastery school, becoming a monk in 1259. He knew also the "Slavonic language" (Czech). His ordination as subdeacon followed in 1263. In 1267/8 he fled the monastery, but returned in 1294. The abbot imposed penance upon him: he had to carve and decorate the choir stalls, which he fulfilled (hence the name Henricus Sculptor). He wrote the Latin chronicle of his monastery, the *Cronica domus Sarensis*.

Written and ending in 1300, the *Cronica* is the earliest known original monastic chronicle in the Czech lands. In keeping with the pattern of the monastic chronicles of the reformed orders, it starts with the history of the house of the founders, lords of Obřany (Oberseß). It tells of the pre-history and foundation of the monastery and the deeds of abbots. It is important for its accounts of day-to-day life in a monastery. Written in Latin in 1162 rhymed hexameters with a few lines of prose, the chronicle is divided into 21 chapters according to the ruling abbots. On religion and theology, it seems more or less to follow → Vincent of Beauvais' reflexions about transience and death. The sole manuscript is Wrocław, BU, cod. IV. D 7 (14th/15th century). It was the source for the → *Cronica Sarensis minor*.

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MARIE BLÁHOVÁ
RALF SCHLECHTWEG-JAHN

Heraldry

Heraldry is "the science that studies armorial bearings, the coloured emblems pertaining to an individual, a family or a community" (PASTOUREAU). Heraldry is often important in chronicle studies as a subject which the chroniclers themselves were interested in and reported on; also because of the role of heralds as informants and witnesses, sometimes acting themselves as royal chroniclers; and finally because of the presence of heraldic motifs in chronicle illustration and also to indicate the ownership of manuscripts.

As knights participating in tournaments went into the *mêlée* with closed helms, from around the middle of the 12th century, members of great feudal families such as the Plantagenets of Anjou began to display devices on shield or surcoat, partly through pride, partly as a means of identifying themselves to opponents and to the officials who marshalled contestants beforehand and kept the score during the fray: the heralds. Tournament shields from this period do not survive, nor of course do linen surcoats; the earliest evidence for the origins of heraldry is on a personal seal, in this instance the one first used by Waleran, Count of Meulan and Earl of Worcester (1136-38; cf. slightly later examples for the Warenne family): it depicts a checky coat on Waleran's shield, horse trapper and pennon.

Family devices such as the Plantagenet golden lions soon became symbols of pride and affiliation; within a generation or two they were being handed down to a lord's progeny using "cadency" to differentiate between siblings (the addition of a mark or symbol superimposed on an individual's armorial bearings to indicate whether he was the first, second or third son of the living head of the family; cadency symbols and conventions vary from one country to another). Tournaments were a sport, and an occasion for personal display and self-affirmation. HENRY BEDINGFIELD observes, "A brave and skilful knight would not wish to remain anonymous, and prominent in signia, either carried as a banner, or on his surcoat or shield, ensured that the world could recognise him."

The tournament afforded vigorous physical exercise and the primary training for real combat, during which it was even more essential to recognise the arms to which a man should rally under pressure, as well as those of his enemies. From the 12th century onwards a crest was often

worn atop the helm or helmet; made from painted leather or wood, they became increasingly elaborate; an additional element of the armorial "identity" of an individual, they survive today as a constituent element of many thousands of complete heraldic achievements (often referred to—erroneously—as "crests").

Heralds kept *aides-mémoires* on rolls of parchment to record persons present at a particular tournament, battle or siege ("occasional" rolls). As the practice of chivalry became more codified and the role of heralds evolved into a more "jurisdictional" one, they began to note more formally who had distinguished themselves, or even who had let the side down in terms of chivalric practice (the "reproche d'armes", recorded by certain Orders of Chivalry in the 13th-15th century). Early rolls—the earliest was compiled from 1264—seem to have commemorated tournaments or armed encounters (the Siege of Caerlaverock or the Battle of Boroughbridge); others grouped together the arms borne by knights in a particular locality, or assembled the arms of sovereigns, dukes, earls, knights and esquires known to the compiler.

Later rolls—or books—are even more systematic and proceed from a broader knowledge base: known as ordinaries of arms, they begin to record armorial bearings by grouping together coats according to the ordinaries (fess, chief, pale, saltire, etc.) or by charges (lions, crosses and so forth). Some rolls survive from the 13th century; quite a few survive only as 16th-century or more recent copies of lost originals. The most comprehensive constitute a kind of medieval "database" of known and attested armorial bearings, anticipating the printed or online Ordinaries and Armorial lists in the bibliography.

Examples of those most frequently resorted to by specialists are: the Bigot Roll (ca 1254; 17th-century copy); Glover's Roll (1253-58; 16th-century copy by Cooke), the Dering Roll (ca 1275; 15th-century copy); the Camden Roll (ca 1280); the Battle of Falkirk Roll (ca 1298; 16th-century copy by Wriothlesley); the Siege of Stirling Roll (1304; 16th-century copy by Wriothlesley); Cooke's Ordinary (last quarter of 16th-century; compilation from 1340); Mowbray's Roll (ca 1365-70); Jenyn's Ordinary (ca 1380); Powell's roll (ca 1345-51); Povey's Roll (early 15th-century); Flower's Ordinary (ca 1520); the Fenwick Roll (mid 15th-century; reign of Henry VI); the *Rôle d'armes du Traité de Guérande*

(ca 1381), The Portcullis Book (ca 1440) and Willement's Roll (early 16th-century, recording arms from the time of Richard III). Some are housed in the British Library, others in the College of Arms library near St Paul's, City of London.

Whilst the earliest function of heralds was to proclaim and organise tournaments, by the later 13th century we find them serving as emissaries, diplomatic go-betweens on the field of battle, negotiators of parley or truce during sieges or campaigns, as scouts and even as diplomats. The *Chronicles* of Jean → Froissart record instances of heralds providing details of the numbers of dukes, earls, bannerets or knights present at a skirmish or battle; as emissaries and bearers of challenges; procuring safe-conducts or negotiating the terms of a town's surrender; guiding an army to the field of combat; counting and identifying the dead after a pitched battle.

Froissart interviewed several heralds and (more senior) *rois d'armes*, manifestly valuing them for their professional impartiality and unimpeachable eyewitness testimony to the deeds of the brave (which the chronicler was anxious to record without fear or favour). The rules of blazon (the codified language used to describe the ordinaries, colours or tinctures of the arms, their marshalling on the shield, and the charges—shapes or objects—superimposed on them) seem familiar to him: he uses them with ease when referring to particular combatants, presumably using notes taken during his conversations with herald informants.

→ Heraut Beyeren, a King at Arms in the service of the courts of Guelders and Holland, is an example of a herald who not only informed chronicles, but wrote them himself. The title of his *Armorial Gelre* is suggestive; it is a history of the lineage of his superior, the Duke of Guelders, in which all the skills of his rank and the metaphors of arms contributed to the task of legitimizing the comital house. He later composed a chronicle of Holland in a similar vein. Likewise → Chandos Herald, a Belgian first known as herald to Sir John Chandos, later Ireland King of Arms eventually England King of Arms, wrote royal history focussing on the chivalric prowess of his master. Other examples of heralds who became chroniclers include → Gilles de Bouvier (Héraut Berry), Robert Glover (16th-century copyist of the → *Chronicles of Lanthony Priory*), Nicaise → Ladam (imperial herald), → Wigand von Marburg (15th-century herald in the service of

the Tutonic Order) and very probably the anonymous authors of the → *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire*, the → *Chronique de la traison et mort de Richart Deux roy d'Engleterre*, the → *Historie of the Arrival of King Edward IV* and the → *Rijkroniek van de Grimbergsche oorlog*.

Heraldry frequently appears in manuscripts as part of a decorative or iconographic programme. Some of the earliest knights to acquire armorial bearings were the entirely fictitious King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table shown in the miniatures adorning the romances of Chrétien de Troyes and his epigones. The *neuf Preux* have their own heraldic achievements. → Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* and *Historia Anglorum* incorporate heraldic shields commemorating and identifying protagonists in the narrative. Important chroniclers whose work includes descriptions or visual representations of heraldic insignia include → Anianus de Coussere, Gebhard → Dacher, Ulrich → Fuetrer, John → Gower, Hennen van → Merchtenen and Werner → Overstolz. In the case of Konrad → Grünenberg scholarship speaks of the heraldic chronicle as though this were a recognised subgenre—if it is, the → *Kattendijk-kroniek* would be another example.

Heraldry occurs not only on the surcoats of knights featuring in illuminated miniatures; in the case of a particularly interesting manuscript of Froissart's *Chronicles* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.804), heraldic banners are employed extensively as a border decoration, thus blurring the distinction between chronicle and commemorative ordinary (the banners are those of the victors and vanquished at Crécy, Poitiers, Auray and Nájera, etc.). The same manuscript illustrates another function of painted armorial bearings: as an integral part of an historiated (heraldic) initial letter, or shown as a full achievement, arms attest here to the identity of the commissioning patron (or perhaps the earliest attested *owner*) of the manuscript, in this instance Pierre de Fontenay, lord of Rance. Books changed hands, of course, and other manuscripts provide evidence of an overpainted coat of arms belonging to a later owner (viz. the copy of Froissart's *Chronicles* at the Royal Library of the Netherlands at the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 72 A 25). And in the case of Thomas → Gray of Heton, a chronicler who himself was a knight at arms, a heraldic device in the manuscript is one of the signals by which the author consciously identifies himself to his readers.

Heraldry is thus part of the evidence helping scholars to establish a manuscript's provenance, for example as part of a connoisseur's or collector's library. A fascinating subject in its own right, heraldry is today served by an increasing number of online resources, not all of which are entirely scholarly or reliable.

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PETER AINSWORTH

Heraut Beyeren (Bavarian Herald)

ca 1350–1414. Low Countries. A herald at the Court of Holland from 1403 until his death. Author of the *Corniken des tijts* and the *Hollantsche cronike*, each written in two versions, in Middle Dutch prose, with inserts in verse. In the dedication-manuscript of the *Hollantsche cronike II*, which has survived in autograph, the

author calls himself *Beyeren quondam Gelre armorum [rex] de Ruyris* (Bavaria, formerly Gelre, King of Arms of the Ruyers). As such, he supervised all matters of chivalry in the northern part of the Empire, between the rivers Meuse and Rhine. This title also confirms the ducal status of his lord, William VI of Bavaria, count of Holland (1404–17), to whom he dedicates his chronicles.

As Gelre, Beyeren is well known as the author of the *Armorial Gelre*, written while serving the duke of Guelders (1381–1402). According to his prologue, Beyeren covers the history of Holland since the founding of the Roman Empire and links it to the history of the world since the creation, which he presents in a separate volume as *die corniken des tijts*. The theme of all his chronicles is the establishment of the authority of the ruling dynasties of Western Europe, who owed their position to their Trojan descent and the legitimacy of the sovereignty of the Carolingian kings. His principal aim is to prove the legitimacy of duke William VI of Bavaria, count of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland (1404–17), who, according to him, made peace between the Duke of Burgundy and the King of France after the murder of the Duke of Orleans and *die crone van Vrancrijc in groten ruste ende vrede in gheset heeft, des hi over al Vrancrijc tmeen ghebet heeft* (endowed the crown of France with great peace and tranquility, by which he ameliorated the common good in all France).

The *Corniken des tijts* (chronicles of the time), also known as the *Wereldkroniek* (world chronicle), is presented as a series of biographies of the rulers of the world, among whom the → Nine Worthies are prominent. Analysis of the composition of both chronicles shows that Beyeren composed two versions of the *Corniken des tijts-Hollantsche cronike*, with great differences in structure and content between the two. Version I of the *Corniken des tijts* has apparently been modelled conceptually on the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* of → Martin of Opava, while version II is based on the *Spiegel historiael* of → Jacob van Maerlant with its division into six aetates. The *Corniken des tijts* survives in eight manuscripts of which two contain version I and six version II. The history of Alexander survives in a separate manuscript.

The *Hollantsche cronike* opens with the history of the first Roman emperor and can be regarded as the Dutch counterpart/an adaptation of the

Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant of Johannes de → Beke, its main source. Version I offers a series of biographies of the princes of the Low Countries; heraldic illumination forms an essential part of the text's structure. Version II includes a partial history of the bishops of Utrecht, who contested the legitimacy of the Dutch counts on Frisia. Again Beyeren puts forward *hoe verre hoir heerlicheit ende hoir recht ghing in Vrieslant* (how widespread their power and jurisdiction were in Frisia). Important additional sources are the → *Rijkroniek van Holland* of Melis Stoke and the *Spiegel historiael*. The view that he used the → Clerc uten Laghen Landen has been discredited.

There are four extant manuscripts, of which one represents version I (The Hague, Museum Meermanno Westreenianum, 10 C 14) and three represent version II. The Alkmaar manuscript (Regionaal Archief, Van Fooreest 898) is a 16th-century addition to an early-15th century manuscript of the Clerc-text. The dedication-manuscript of the *Hollantsche cronike II*, which survives in autograph, (Brussels, KBR 17914), contains historical and mythical coats of arms of past rulers of the Low Countries, of which the coat of arms of Charles the Great and Willam VI of Holland are the most beautiful.

Beyeren was one of the first Kings at Arms to work as a court chronicler and his professional perspective is clear in many additions. He introduces himself as a compiler and did indeed collect material from a variety of sources. A notable part of the additional material survives in autograph, in the so-called *Haage handschrift* (The Hague, KB, 131 G 37) and the so-called *Kladboek* (The Hague, KB, 71 H 39).

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JEANNE VERBIJ-SCHILLINGS

Herdegen, Konrad

1406–post-1479. Germany. Benedictine in St. Egidien, Nuremberg. Son of Herdegen Schreiber (Herdegen Olprecht). Author of the *Nürnberger Denkwürdigkeiten*.

This small 10-page prose chronicle in Latin was started in the 1460s, its last entry reaching the year 1479. Herdegen's account lists a personal selection of events. First, it recalls dates of death of his kinsmen, and of acquaintances in monasteries and in town. Summaries of donations and wills preserve information on his family's social network and possessions. A second focus lies on public events like the construction of a fortification tower, or the plague. The third field of interest is in imperial matters, as in the description of the display of the imperial treasure, or of the death of Emperor Sigismund.

Herdegen's chronicle is anchored in the Nuremberg tradition of urban historical writing, and is particularly indebted to patrician family books such as the *Püchel von meim geselchet und von abentewr* by Ulman → Stromer. Of several versions of Herdegen's chronicle, one 15th-century copy survives in a Nuremberg collection of diplomata, genealogies, necrologues, and historical accounts: Bamberg, SB, JH. Msc. Hist 62, fol. 168–72.

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BARBARA SCHMID

Heriger of Lobbes

d. 1007. Low Countries. Benedictine monk then abbot of Lobbes (near Thuin), where he began his career as *scholasticus* under the abbacy of → Folcuin (965–90). He was a friend of Notker, the bishop of Liège, and travelled to Italy at least once (989). His Latin chronicle, *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium* (Deeds of the bishops of Tongeren, Maastricht and Liège), covers a period extending from the age of St. Materne, bishop of Cologne (beginning in the 4th century) to that of St. Remaclus (d. 667). It was continued into the 11th century by

→ Anselm of Liège, canon of the Cathedral of St Lambert in Liège. Among his sources it is important to mention the oral tradition, the archives of Liège and of Stavelot, as well as Einhard and → Jordanes. This prose work is the earliest chronicle from what is now Belgium. Early manuscripts: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 2738 (11th century); Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 812, fol. 46–122 (12th century).

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CHRISTIAN DURY

Herkommen der Schwyzer und Oberhasler

later 15th century. Switzerland. Anonymous Latin chronicle of the origins of the inhabitants of Schwyz and Oberhasli, often attributed to Heinrich von → Gundelfingen, preserved also in a Middle High German version.

The *Herkommen der Schyzer und Oberhasler* attempts to explain the peregrine origins of the inhabitants of the Swiss canton Schwyz and the Bernese Valley Oberhasli as well as to legitimise their imperial freedom. According to this entirely fictitious narrative, people from Sweden and Frisia were forced to leave their countries because of a famine and thus settled in Schwyz and Oberhasli respectively. In the 4th century, they helped the Visigoth king Alarich banish the pagan ruler Eugenius from Rome, restoring the power of pope Zosimos and the Christian emperors Theodosius and Honorius. In return, they received Imperial freedom and prestigious banners: Schwyz the symbols of Christ's martyrdom (*arma Christi*) and Oberhasli the Imperial Eagle.

Once erroneously attributed to Hans → Fründ or Elogius → Kiburger, the *Herkommen* is now commonly but tentatively regarded as the work of Heinrich von Gundelfingen, since the oldest

Latin version, written probably in the 1480s, is bequeathed together with other writings of his in a codex preserved in Romont, Kapuzinerkloster, cod. Gund., 7^v–10^v. Around 1497, Hartmann → Schedel copied the Latin version along with the oldest Middle High German one in Munich, BSB, clm 951, 202^r–221^r. Gundelfingen's authorship of this German version is however uncertain. Another German version was inserted into the law compilation (*Landbuch*) of Oberhasli in 1534, and was thus endowed with an official character.

Despite FELLER/BONJOUR's scathing comment, that the *Herkommen* was a "botch of unscrupulous fantasy" (*Machwerk von hemmungsloser Phantasie*), the work provides illuminative insights into the self-conception of a late-medieval Swiss commune.

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RAINER HUGENER

Herman de Tournai

ca 1090–post 1147. Low Countries. Abbot of Tournai (modern Belgium). Wrote a town chronicle in Latin prose. Probably the third son of Ralph of Noyon and Mainsendis, Herman became oblate of St. Martin's monastery in Tournai (Benedictine) in 1094/5, he attended the Council of Reims (1119), served as prior (1126), became abbot of St. Martin's (1127), directed the disinterment of the body of Charles the Good (1127), and resigned the abbacy of St. Martin's in 1137. In Rome, he received papal letters for the archbishop of Reims (1140). He was present in Tournai at the election of the new bishop and departed again for Rome in 1141. Herman departed for the Second Crusade, but never returned and probably died in 1147.

His *Liber de restauratione monasterii S. Martini Tornacensis*, which extends to 33451 words in length, was written in Rome between April and June 1142. The narrative is dedicated to the members of his community. It deals with the history of St. Martin's abbey, the diocese of Tournai and

the county of Flanders in the period 1022–1127. Among the sources used by the author are a bull of Pascal II (JL 6254), the *Vita Eligii*, → Sigebert of Gembloux and the *Symbolum Athanasianum*. The text was continued anonymously till 1160.

The chronicle survives in five copies: Amiens, BM, ms. 497; Arras, BM, 175 and 668; Brussels, KBR, ms. II 1020; Paris, BnF, lat. 11733. It was printed by d'Achery in 1675.

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CHRISTIAN DURY

Hermann of Lerbeck

ca 1350–post-1403. Germany. Little is known about Hermann of Lerbeck, apart from the facts that he was a Dominican at St. Paul's monastery in Minden (Westphalia), was probably a commoner rather than a member of the nobility, and became *capellanus honestus* to Pope Boniface IX in 1391. Judging from his writings he seems to have been informed only of his immediate regional surroundings plus possibly Hamburg and the county of Holstein which at that time was under Schaumburg rule. Hermann wrote three historical works: an episcopal and a ducal chronicle; both of them in Latin in mixed prose and verse, and a lost history of the Saxon leader Widukind.

The *Catalogus episcoporum Mindensium* (list of bishops of Minden) was completed by 1380. It deals with the history of the bishops of Minden and the church of Minden in general, from its legendary founding in the year 780 up to Bishop Wedekind in 1379. Extant is a later, programmatic dedicatory epistle to Wedekind's successor, Otto, in which Hermann, chagrined by the fact that no history of the bishops of Minden existed, declares his intention to remedy this defect if he can. His descriptions centre on the Minden church, touching only very occasionally on general church history and practically never on that of the empire. Information on the Dominican order, on the other hand, is given in abundance. Hermann generally keeps the original statements of his models, evaluates them critically and leaves out any events

where the trustworthiness of his sources did not satisfy him or on which no sources were available. Thus many items out of the original models appear isolated, bereft of their historical context and mostly even without commentary or explanation. Hermann's refusal to add any trimmings to his facts make his *Catalogus* a very sober reading. Apart from his written sources he used only what he heard from his most trustworthy contemporaries. The *Catalogus* was continued three times in the 16th century. Around 1450 the Minden prebendary Heinrich → Tribbe worked it into his *Jüngere Bischofschronik* while the *Catalogus* itself sank into oblivion, thus for some time leading historians to believe that the *Catalogus* was merely a "flawed extract" of Tribbe's chronicle.

The *Chronica Comitum de Schowenburg* (chronicle of the dukes of Schaumburg) was compiled between 1400 and 1403. It is dedicated to Count Otto I and his brother Bernhard, then provost in Hamburg. Since there were obviously very few written sources on the early history of the family, Hermann kept closely to → Helmold of Bosau's work, from which he took all the information about the counts of Schaumburg, condensing it and occasionally embellishing it. In addition, he took recourse to → Vincent of Beauvais and to Heinrich of Herford, to a lesser degree also to → Albert of Stade and the → *Sächsische Weltchronik*. Hermann sees himself as a historian of the whole house of Schaumburg. His portrayals of its individual members is mostly positive. After the dynastic division of the mid-13th century, however, Hermann takes the side of the so-called Younger House, whose rule included the town of Minden. The *Chronica* was published by Heinrich Meibom in 1620.

Almost all of Hermann's sources are themselves still extant. To these, Hermann seems to have added only very few fresh facts. The tradition of his two extant works is sparse and regionally confined. Of the two chronicles twelve manuscripts of the Latin texts and Low German translations remain. The best Latin texts are Hanover, LB, ms XXII 1373 (*Catalogus*; late 15th century) and Leipzig, UB, ms. 1317 (*Chronica*).

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JAN ULRICH BÜTTNER

Hermann of Niederaltaich

(Hermannus abbas Altahensis)

1200/01–75. Germany. Abbot of the Cisterciensian monastery of Niederaltaich. Author of a volume of annals, several chronicles on his monastery, a short autobiography, and a genealogy of Otto II of Bavaria, all in Latin. He also collected various administrative sources for his monastery. Hermann, who had probably lived in the monastery since his childhood, became Abbot of Niederaltaich in 1242. He was a frequent visitor to the papal court on the monastery's behalf, and represented an identifiably propapacy position.

Hermann wrote his annals between 1250 and 1273, shortly before failing health forced him to retire as abbot. For this task he was able to fall back on substantial help from his monks, who collected the sources and did some of the copying work for him. He seems to have given detailed instructions to his assistants. Nevertheless the main work is Hermann's. For the earliest parts from 1137 onwards he uses the *Annales Salisburgenses* and → Gottfried of Viterbo. From the 1220s he relies on his own experiences and goes into more detail from the 1250s. He tends to concentrate on important occurrences concerning the empire and the Duchy of Bavaria as well as Bohemia and Francia. In the conflict between pope and emperor he is firmly on the pope's side and yet manages to have a good reputation as a mediator in imperial circles as well. He tends to criticize the emperor and approves of papal politics but nevertheless always takes the local interest to heart and complains that the small churches and monasteries suffer the most from the imperial-papal clash.

Because he only touches sporadically on local history, he has been criticised by modern scholars for deliberately leaving out important information, for example on Albert → Behaim, the papal agitator in the Bavarian area. The focus on imperial matters and the neglect of regional

occurrences, however, is found throughout his work and is not a deliberate political tendency, as can be seen especially in the earlier entries, where his local sources are known. No patron can be established for the annals and Hermann seems to have written them for his own interest. For the history of the empire and the South of Germany as well as Bohemia, his *Annales* are a valuable and mostly unbiased source which has survived in his own working codex (Vienna, ÖNB, 413). Further important copies are preserved in Munich, BSB, cdm 4352 and Stuttgart, LB, cod. hist. fol. 242. In Regensburg, Hermann's *Annales* were continued twice, once to 1305 by Magister → Eberhard von Regensburg, who originally was from Niederaltaich, and once by an unknown monk up to 1303. The → *Chronicon Osterhoviense* also partly continues Hermann's *Annales*.

In his day-to-day work as abbot, Hermann seems to have laboured continuously for a consolidation of the monastery's financial situation. For this reason he collected the traditions and charters of his abbacy in an *Urbarium* and gave an account of his community's history in several historical works, namely *De advocatis Altahensibus*, *De institutione monasterii Altahensis*, *De rebus suis gestis* and *De spoliatione*, collected in two codexes, Stuttgart, LB, Cod. Hist. fol. 242, Munich, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kloster Niederaltaich Lit. 39 (the latter also including the *Urbarium*). These documents prove him to be not only an able administrator but also a learned leader of his monastery. They also allow us to reconstruct the economic history of his abbatial years with rare accuracy.

His friendship with Otto II of Bavaria motivated him to write a genealogy of Otto II and his wife, the *Genealogia Ottonis ducis Bavariae et Agnetis ducissa* (Vienna, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, cod. 581).

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ALHEYDIS PLASSMANN

Hermann of Reichenau

[Herimannus Contractus (the Lame);
Herimannus Augiensis (of Reichenau)]

18th July 1013–24th September 1054. Southern Germany. Though paralysed from birth, this member of the local nobility was one of the most outstanding scholars of his time. His *Chronicon* states for 1020: *Ego Herimannus litteris traditus sum 17. Kal. Octobris* (I, Herimannus, was consigned to the sciences on the 17th calends of October). Having entered the Benedictine monastery of Reichenau, he excelled in theology, mathematics, astronomy, history, poetry and musical theory, being probably most renowned for his achievements as an astronomer and mathematician. His most important writings include: *Qualiter multiplicationes fiant in abaco*, *De conflictu rithmimachiae*, *De mensura astrolabii*, *De utilitatibus astrolabii libri II*, *Prognostica de defectu solis et lune*, *Computus*, and *De mense lunari*.

Two 11th-century manuscripts of the *Chronicon* have survived: one of them was probably produced in Einsiedeln (Karlsruhe, LB, cod. 175), the other in Regensburg (Munich, BSB, clm 14613). Modelled on the *Chronicon* of → Jerome and compiled from various sources including → Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the → *Annales Fuldenses*, the → *Annales Hildesheimenses* and a lost chronicle of Swabia, the *Chronicon* recounts the history of the world in prose, year by year, from the birth of Christ until 1054. In Hermann's own time, oral sources are included. As Hermann had access to information on the latest political developments in the flourishing Abbey of Reichenau, the accounts of the first half of the 11th century make the *Chronicon* historically important as a well-informed primary source of this time. Its geographical focus shifts with the works it is based on. From the late 7th century onwards Hermann

restricts his view to the *maiores domus*, the Carolingian, Ottonian and Salian rulers. The work is oriented towards the sequence of popes, who are counted, and like other men of the church, if necessary, criticised for blasphemous behaviour, such as John XII (955) *qui tanti ordinis, heu pro dolor! oblitus, vanitati et spurciciae vitam suam deditus duxit* (who—alas!—oblivious of his high rank led a life in vanity and filth). Generally Hermann strives for objectivity and exact chronology. At times he includes vivid descriptions or mentions events influencing his surrounding, his family or himself—the collapse of the church of St. Mary in Konstanz (1052), the death of Abbot Bern of Reichenau (1048), Hermann's parents' wedding (1009) or his mother's death (1052), which he laments by quoting the verses written *pro epitaphio* (as an inscription on her tombstone).

After 1054 the *Chronicon* was continued by the monks' disciple → Berthold of Reichenau, who commences his work with a biography of his master.

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SANDRA LEHNER

Hermann of Wartberge

14th century. Livonia (Eastern Baltic). A chaplain of the Livonian master of the Teutonic Order. Author of a Latin *Chronicon Livoniae*, written in prose, probably shortly after 1378. Arranged in yearly parts from about 1180 to 1378, the *Chronicon* tells of the German colonisation of Livonia and the wars fought by the Teutonic Order against Lithuanians and Russians. The author was a participant in at least some of the events described. On behalf of the Order he took part in negotiations with the Bishop of Riga, which he

outlines in the chronicle and extensively describes in his tract *Relatio de disceptatione inter Rigensem archiepiscopum ordinemque S. Mariae Theutoniarum Gedani anno 1366 habita*. Throughout the *Chronicon*, Herman advocates the viewpoint of the Order. Parts of the text are based on → Henry of Livonia, the → *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* and perhaps Bartholomäus → Hoeneke. The *Relatio* of → Hartmann von Heßdrungen and accounting records of the Dünamünde Cistercians have been suggested as further sources. As the → *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* shows, Hermann's text was known also in Prussia. The work survived in only one manuscript of the second quarter of the 16th century, Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, 300 R/Ll q1.

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MICHAEL NEECKE

Hernando del Pulgar

[Fernando]

ca 1425–ca 1500. Castile (Iberia). From Pulgar, near Toledo (Spain). Councillor of State at the Castilian court under Queen Isabella. Author of a *Cronica de los Reyes Catholicos*, which exists in two versions: the "inédita" (Madrid, BNE, ms. 18062) and the "impresa" (Madrid, BNE, ms. 1769). Despite the fact that it ends in 1490 because of the author's illness, it is regarded as the main chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs (Ferdinand and Isabella). The Queen herself entrusted Pulgar with composing this chronicle during the royal council held in Toledo in 1480, after Alfonso Fernández de → Palencia had been removed from the office of royal chronicler as a result of the support he gave to the Aragonese faction and his veiled criticism of the Queen's politics. Pulgar, by contrast, formed part of Cardinal Mendoza's circle and had served the crown well in various tasks.

Pulgar states clearly that he is writing a chronicle of Queen Isabel's deeds, and that his task constrains him to harmonise his material with the ideological and religious views of the new monarchy. The Queen's character and voice dominate the work. Important sources are her own information and other private narrations of

the military actions of the war against Granada. The narrative is very precise. The first twenty chapters (1468–74), dedicated to reinforcing dynastic legitimacy, are followed by the period of the war against Portugal (1474–9), which Pulgar uses to define the new political ideology: the Catholic Monarchs confronted both the disloyal parties of the nobility and the Portuguese invader with effective military operations that secured the realm, making possible the administration of justice in the council of Toledo. Next comes a biennium (1480–1) dedicated to a description of government, followed by the long war against Granada (1482–92), demonstrating Pulgar's interest in the military operations. The fall of the Nasrids is presented as a result of the process of dynastic securement and internal pacification accomplished by the Catholic Monarchs during the first seven years of their reign. This last part of the *Crónica* constitutes a treatise *de re militari*.

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FERNANDO GÓMEZ REDONDO

Herodian

fl. 240s AD. Italy. Probably born in a Greek city of Asia Minor at the end of the 2nd century, and perhaps a freedman, Herodian was for some years a subordinate official in Rome. His *History of the Empire after Marcus* (AD 180–238), written in Greek in eight books, is chronologically divided according to the reigns of the emperors following Marcus (from Commodus to Gordian III) and focuses on struggles for power and civil wars, thus giving only slight attention to the relationships between Rome and the provinces, and to social and economic factors.

Herodian embodies the viewpoint and the expectations of the eastern élites, mainly interested in what happens where effective power lies and hostile both to rich patrician senators and to lower classes; each emperor is judged by comparisons with Marcus, who is considered the model of *optimus princeps* thanks to his *paideia* and

military virtues. Herodian's narrative is often moralizing and rhetorical, and with some mistakes and exaggerations; nevertheless, it is not completely untrustworthy. → Cassius Dio is an important source, but not the only one; there are also echoes of classical texts (even though maybe only indirectly known). The imitation of Thucydides only takes the form of a literary patina: actually Herodian, despite his statements in the proem, resembles more closely the "tragic" historiography which arose during the Hellenism and flourished again in the Antonine age. Herodian himself in turn was used as a source, partly in addition to Cassius Dio, by later historians and chroniclers including → John of Antioch, Ioannes → Zonaras and the author of the → *Historia Augusta*.

The most ancient manuscript of the *History* dates back to the 11th century (Leiden, UB, GRO 88). The *editio princeps* was published by Aldus Manutius in Venice (1503).

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Laura Mecella

Herryson, John

d. 1473. England. Cambridge-educated writer of a *Polychronicon* continuation known as the *Abbreviata cronica 1377–1469*. Herryson earned his MA by 1449–50. He was admitted into the MB programme, but he was twice fined in 1456 and 1464 for not showing interest in medicine. Some scholars have argued that Herryson was Chancellor of Cambridge 1465–68, but, as EMDEN notes, this must be disallowed on grounds of a misreading of the manuscript.

Herryson's work is transmitted in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 249/277. This is a collection of chronicles, genealogies, reports of comets, and verse and prose historical prophecies in Herryson's hand. His continuation of Ranulf → Higden's *Polychronicon* is neither sophisticated nor well developed. From the years 1377 to 1459, the chronicle consists mainly of brief annals.

The entries from 1460 onwards are more detailed and contain references to London.

Like many → London Chronicles of the 15th century, Herryson's text (especially the later entries) at times demonstrates a pro-Yorkist bias. He describes Edward IV as "our most serene king", and other Yorkist figures receive similar treatment. Many associated with the Lancastrians are derided. Later entries are similar to those of John → Benet's Latin chronicle of London, another continuation of the *Polyhronicon*. Herryson's favouritism extends towards his own university, Cambridge; these entries reveal a chronicler who cherished his university, its history, and its graduates, who are the subjects of a number of the entries for 1466–69. Many of these entries on Cambridge demonstrate a chronicler who was vested in these matters; the same authorial interest cannot be said regarding the earlier entries that are more akin to annals. Because several political and Arthurian prophecies follow this chronicle, the chronicle as a whole has a certain prophetic quality. It ends with a brief passage in Middle English that says that these entries were written during a period of *distruccione* and *grete hurte*.

Herryson also transcribed one of ms. 249's two copies of the *Historiola* of Nicholas → Cantilupe. A later copy of it is preserved in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 194.

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Alexander L. Kaufman

Hesychius of Miletus

ca 500–550 AD. Byzantium. An inhabitant of Miletus (modern Turkey), Hesychius is the author of three works. His world history in

six books started with the reign of the Assyrian king Belos and focussed mainly on Roman history. It ended with the death of the emperor Anastasius I. The starting point may indicate influence of → Castor of Rhodes. The section known as the Πάτρια κατὰ Ἡσύχιον (Patria according to Hesychius) is preserved in a single 9th-century manuscript (Heidelberg, UB, gr. 398); otherwise only a few fragments survive. The Πάτρια, which may be abridged and interpolated, retraces the history of Byzantium before it became Constantinople.

Little is known of Hesychius' unfinished history of the reigns of Justin and Justinian. His *Onomatologos*, a list of famous scholars, became, in a later, interpolated version, an important source for the Suda. His oeuvre testifies to an interest in non-Christian antiquities, which has given rise to the hypothesis that he was not a Christian himself. Although still known to Photios and Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the 10th century, his world history does not seem to have had much of an afterlife.

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Peter van Nuffelen

Heydekyn, Johannes

d. 1514/16. Germany. Canon and prior at the Augustinian abbey of Kirschgarten at Worms. Probable author of a chronicle of Worms. Heydekyn is known to have been at the abbey of the Windesheimer Chorherren at Kirschgarten from 1485, probably even from 1472. He was temporarily prior, possibly until 1516, but this date of his death is disputed. In all likelihood Heydekyn is the author of the *Chronica civitatis Wormatiensis* (Worms, StA, nr. 1 und 2, fol.), also referred to as *Kirschgartner Chronik*. This is a chronicle of town and bishops, which runs from Julius Caesar to the year 1501. Many of its sources are known only through the excerpts in this work, for example the *Vita S. Eckberti* and the *Vita of Burchard of Worms*, the latter otherwise surviving only in a

late copy of unequal quality from the year 1548. By his own account, Heydekyn also planned to write a chronicle of the abbey, a *Liber illustrium virorum ordinis nostri* or *Gesta canonicorum regularium* and a history of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land of the Palsgrave Ludwig III. Unfortunately none of these works are extant. Beside the *Kirschgartner Chronik*, only the *Dialogus de amore et inquisitione vere sapiencie* has survived, which Heydekyn dedicated to → Johannes Trithemius (Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. 236).

In some of the literature, this work is confused with the → *Chronicon Wormatiense*, or *Ältere Bischofschronik*.

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Christina Abt

Heymerick, Arnold

[Arnoldus Heymerici de Clivis]

pre-1424–30th July 1491. Northern Germany. Born the son of a reputable Cleve family, Heymerick attended school in Deventer, Zwolle, and Zutphen, though an indication that he studied in Cologne more likely refers to his step-brother. In 1435–7 he participated in the Council of Basel. During the 1440s and 50s he served the curia in Rome and Basel in several posts. In 1456 he became Dean of St. Victor in Xanten and kept company with intellectual circles of the Cleve court, including → Gert van der Schüren.

From the 1460s on, Heymerick developed fruitful writing activities, including three historical

pieces: *De deportacione S. Victoris Xanctis anno 1464 habita* on the resumption of St. Victor's habit in Xanten, the *Historia Davidis episcopus Traiectensis*, and the *Triumphalis Rhosa*, in which he gives a detailed depiction of the ceremony when Johann I received the papal Golden Rose in 1489. His *Registrum sophologicum* also contains several reflections on contemporary history. Heymerick's writing is strongly committed to contemporary Italian humanists, referring extensively to authors such as Eneas Sylvius → Piccolomini, Poggio Bracciolini and Lorenzo → Valla. His historical work generally focusses on Cleve and Burgundy, and pays little attention to imperial matters.

The most important manuscript for most of Heymerick's works is Xanten, Stiftsarchiv und -bibliothek, H 1. The *Registrum* is found among others in Berlin, SB, ms. lat. fol. 356 and Xanten, Stiftsarchiv und -bibliothek, H 7. A life of Heymerick by the Weseler preacher van Dorth (d. 1695) survives in Düsseldorf, Hauptstaatsarchiv, D I 1, fol. 244.

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HIRAM KÜMPER

Higden, Ranulf

14th century. England. Benedictine monk at St. Werburgh's Abbey in Chester. Compiled the *Polychronicon*, a Latin universal history written in Latin prose, except for a verse chapter on Wales. Ranulf entered St. Werburgh's as a monk in 1299

and remained there, for the most part, until his death in 1363.

Ranulf wrote four prefaces to the *Polychronicon* and divided the history into seven books. The first is a geographical survey of the known world, and in the first letters of its chapters, he incorporated an acrostic which reads: *Presentem cronicam compilavit Frater Ranulphus Cestrensis monachus* (Brother Ranulf, monk of Chester, compiled the present chronicle), clearly indicating his role in the production of the text. The remaining books tell the history of humanity from Genesis to the early 14th century, integrating Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman conceptions of world history into his chronicle. Ranulf thus harmonized the idea of "salvation history" from the Fall to the Last Judgment with the sequence of world empires. In the process, he emphasized the special role of England and his native Chester.

Ranulf names forty primary sources in his second preface to the *Polychronicon*, and in the chronicle itself he cites over two hundred sources. He also draws on works such as John of Wales' *Compendiloquium*, which he never acknowledges. Ranulf's named sources fall into five general categories: world histories (e.g., → Josephus, → Isidore of Seville, → Peter Comestor, → Vincent of Beauvais), national and ecclesiastical histories (e.g., → Bede, → William of Malmesbury, → Geoffrey of Monmouth, → Henry of Huntingdon), biographies (such as those assembled by → Martin of Opava and one of Henry II by → Gerald of Wales), encyclopedias of natural science (e.g., Pliny and "Priscian," whom Ranulf names and cites when he is actually drawing on Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*), and miscellaneous sources (e.g., Gregorius's *De mirabilibus Romae* and Bede's *De temporibus*). He drew on the Bible extensively and on the writings of the Church Fathers.

Ranulf's *Polychronicon* was enormously popular in England and Europe, and it survives in at least 118 Latin manuscripts and nine fragments dating from the 14th to the 18th century. An autograph of Ranulf's chronicle survives in San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, HM 132. Several manuscripts contain a *mappamundi* that illustrates the geographical descriptions in Book I. TAYLOR identifies three recensions: a short 1327 version, of which no copy survives; an intermediate version that ends in the 1340s; and a final version that ends ca 1352. The *Polychroni-*

con was also brought up to date in the 14th and 15th centuries by scribes who added continuations (s.v. → John of Reading, John → Herryson, Thomas → Walsingham, John → Malverne, the → *Whalley Chronicle*, the → *Westminster Chronicle*, → *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, → Adam of Usk) and it became a source for a number of chronicles devoted to English history (s.v. → John of Tynemouth, John → Brompton, Thomas → Gray of Heton, Henry → Knighton) and at least one primarily devoted to universal history (→ *Eulogium historiarum sive temporis*).

Ranulf's *Polychronicon* was translated into English by John → Trevisa by 1387 and by an anonymous translator in the 15th century. William → Caxton printed *The Description of Britayne* (1480), drawn from Book I of Trevisa's *Polychronicon*, and two years later printed Trevisa's *Polychronicon* in its entirety (1482) with modernized spelling and a continuation to the 1460s, the *Liber ultimus* of his edition. Wynkyn de Worde reprinted the English *Polychronicon* (1495) and Peter Treveris published it with handsome woodcuts, including an image of St. George slaying the dragon (1527).

Several other translations of parts of the *Polychronicon* into Middle English also survive: one of Book 1.5–17 in BL, Royal ms. 18.A.ix; another of Book 1.2–24 in three manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Rawl. C 86; Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 489; and Cleveland, PL, W q091.92-C468; another that includes a translation of Ranulf's account of Adam and his children, in an English genealogical chronicle (see → *Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin*), *Pickering's Chronicle*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Rolls 5. Osbern Bokenham, author of Middle English saints' lives, translated Ranulf's description of England (Book 1.39–60) as the *Mappula Angliae*, ca 1440. Also see the → *History of the Old Testament*.

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JANE BEAL

Hilarius of Litoměřice

1412/13–68. Bohemia. Theologian. Author of *Hystoria civitatis Plznensis*. Hilarius was born in Litoměřice to an Utraquist family. He achieved his bachelor in 1442, and his master of arts at the University of Prague in 1451. After spending time in Italy (1451–4), he converted to Catholicism and was ordained a priest. In 1462 he became administrator of the archbishopric of Prague. He died in České Budějovice.

On 10 May 1467 he gave a speech in remembrance of the liberation of the town of Plzeň from the Hussite siege, conceived as a eulogy and history of the town, for which reason it has been erroneously dubbed "The Oldest Chronicle of Plzeň". It survives in a unique manuscript in Prague, Národní knihovna, Osek ms. 11, where it fills 11 manuscript folios.

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MARIE BLÁHOVÁ

Hinderbach, Johannes

1418–86. Austria and Italy. Lawyer and bishop. Author of several historical works and commentaries. Son of magistrate Johann Scheib, in Rauschenberg, Hesse, and relative of the principals of the Vienna university Heinrich Heinbuche von Langenstein, Hermann Lelle von Treysa and Dietmar Hinderbach. Having adopted his mother's name of Hinderbach, he studied at the universities of Vienna (MA 1438) and Padua (1441). He was a member of the royal chancellery and diplomat to Frederick III, who promoted him *doctor in decretis* on his way to Rome in 1452. In 1465, he was made bishop of Trient after a recommendation for the diocese of Brixen had failed. Hinderbach attended two conferences against the Turks in Regensburg (1471) and Augsburg (diet of 1474) and was involved in the prosecution of the Jews of Trient in 1475.

Hinderbach's summaries of Padua lectures, unpublished letters, occasional poems and his obedience-speech to Pope Pius II (Eneas Silvius → Piccolomini) in 1459 are proof of his humanist erudition. He annotated Piccolomini's chronicles and collected material for his own *Historia eiusdem* (=Friderici) in the years 1460/62 as well as for (auto-)biographical writings (*Chronologia Friderici imperatoris III. et sue familie*, 1432/70). Noteworthy are his annotated copy of Piccolomini's educational treatise for *Ladislaus Postumus*, dedicated to Empress Eleonora in 1466, and his description of the diocese of Bozen.

Manuscripts of the *Chronologia Friderici imperatoris III. et sue familie* are extant in Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. 8206 and Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum, cod. 1086 IX. The Obedience speech to Pius II is found in Munich, BSB, clm 3786, fol. 168^r–173^r and Vienna, ÖNB, cod. series nova 4643.

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BARBARA SCHMID

Hinojosa, Gonzalo de

d. 1327. Castile (Iberia). Hinojosa belonged to a family of Castilian *ricos hombres* related to Rodrigo → Jiménez de Rada. Bishop of Burgos from 1313 until his death, he acted as ambassador at Avignon (1313–14) and Paris (1317, 1320). In 1317 he wrote the *Passio Sanctae Centolae et Helenae*.

His main work, the *Cronice ab origine mundi*, is a Latin universal chronicle. It is a compilation of several sources upon which the author tended not to elaborate, among them, Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae historia* for the pagan ancient history, the *Historia Arabum* and *Historia Gothica* of Rodrigo → Jiménez de Rada for Spanish history, → Vincent of Beauvais and → Martin of Opava for the Empire and the Popes, → Guillaume de Nangis for French history, and → Henry of Huntingdon for England. His technique focuses on a contemporary treatment of each kingdom, despite the coherence offered by chronology. The only extant manuscripts, transmitted in El Escorial, RMSL, P.I.4, shows a limited expansion of the work.

In 1373–79 Charles V of France commissioned Jean Golein to make the French translation known as *Chroniques de Burgos*. The translation, preserved now in four manuscripts, suggests the interest of the French court in the genre of universal chronicle and particularly in this work. The edition is based on Besançon, BM, ms. 1150, and London, BL, Royal 19 E.vi.

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HELENA DE CARLOS VILLAMARÍN

Hippolytus of Rome

2nd–3rd century AD. Italy. Born ca 170 AD, probably in the East (Alexandria or Asia Minor), Hippolytus became a presbyter of the Roman church and an influential author of polemical, dogmatic, exegetical and historical works. His church-political activities and disagreements over doctrine and practice brought him into conflict with other church leaders, in particular the bishop of Rome, Calixtus I (217–22 AD). On accusing Calixtus of Modalism, Monarchianism and Patripassianism, Hippolytus in turn found himself accused of Ditheism. He also rejected as too lax the new practice of re-admitting confessed sinners. In 235, under the emperor Maximinus Thrax, he was exiled to Sardinia along with his then opponent, Pontianus. He died a year later and was buried in Rome.

Much of Hippolytus' extensive literary output has been lost. Of his main heresiological work, the ten books of *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (Refutation of all Heresies), books 2 and 3 and the beginning of book 4 are missing. An earlier anti-heretical work, the *Syntagma* (*Adversus omnes haereses*) is lost, though it can be reconstructed as a source of other heresiologies, in particular that of Epiphanius of Salamis (LIPSIUS). The commentary on the Song of Songs is mainly extant in a Georgian translation. The commentary on the book of Daniel is fully extant in Greek, as is the treatise *De Christo et Antichristo* (On the Christ and the Antichrist). The cosmological treatise *De Universo* (On the Universe) in two books survives in several Greek fragments. The *Canon Paschalis* (Easter Tables) for 112 years beginning with 222 AD were found as an inscription on a second century marble statue of a seated woman philosopher (a so-called *cathedra*) discovered in 1551 near the Via Tiburtina, the place of the burial ground (*coemeterium*) where according to tradition Hippolytus was originally laid to rest. Another inscription on the same statue renders an incomplete list of eleven of Hippolytus' works. Hippolytus is also known as author of a "Church Order" entitled "Apostolic Tradition" (*Traditio Apostolica*), but how much of the material

compiled in the extant version of this text goes back to Hippolytus' time can no longer be established.

Of Hippolytus' Chronicle, *Χρονικῶν* [βίβλοι], only the beginning is extant in Greek. Much of the rest is transmitted in Latin, Armenian and Georgian translations. The title "*Χρονικῶν*" is also attested by the list on the statue mentioned above. The chronology of the chronicle is biblical, although it also employs Olympiads. It develops a *diamerismos*, i.e. the post-diluvian "division" of humanity into three groups according to Noah's sons, Sem, Ham and Japhet (cf. Gen 10). The last edition of the chronicle extends from AM 1 to 5738 (= 235 AD, the thirteenth [and last] year of the emperor Alexander Severus and the year of Hippolytus' exile). On the basis of his calculations Hippolytus argues against millenarians of his time that the Second Coming was still 262 years in the future. The Greek text also contains a *stadiasmus*, the naval equivalent of an *itinerarium*.

A section on biblical chronology can also be found in book 10 of the *Refutatio omnium haeresium* and there are references to chronology and historiographical theory (e.g. "→ Six Ages of the World theory") in the works *De Christo et Antichristo*, *De Universo*, and the commentary on Daniel (SCHMIDT). Hippolytus' historiographical focus is therefore evident across his work and strong links have been discovered in particular between the chronicle and the commentary on Daniel (RICHARD).

The Greek text of the chronicle is extant in only one manuscript, Madrid, BNE, Ms. 4701 (10th/11th century). The oldest witness in Latin translation, Paris, BnF, lat. 4884 (8th century) is derived from an Alexandrian edition which also influenced later Alexandrian chronicles, in particular the → *Goleniščev chronicle*, the → *Excerpta Latina Barbari* and the → *Chronicon Paschale* (BAUER, PIILONEN).

The → *Liber generationis mundi* is a continuation of Hippolytus.

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JOSEF LÖSSL

Hippolytus of Thebes

6th–9th century. Greece. Author of a universal chronicle (Χρονικόν) in Greek prose, which survives only in fragments. The only clues to the date of composition are doctrinal information apparently known to the author, which places him not earlier than the sixth century, and the manuscript tradition, which begins in the ninth. As he apparently was not familiar with Egyptian geography, we conclude that the Thebes in his toponym is Thebes in Greece (Boeotia).

The passages which have survived concern the lives of Mary and Jesus Christ, but even these show some chronological inconsistencies, and this may have been the reason why the whole Chronicle was later forgotten. In the 12th century, → Michael Glykas cited Hippolytus several times, but otherwise he was not widely read.

The most important manuscripts containing excerpts from Hippolytus are: Moscow, Государственный исторический музей, Син. греч. 399, fol. 5^v (9th century); Vatican, BAV, cod. gr. 1974, f. 70^v–73 (11th century), Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, cod. 431, fol. 114–116 (11th century); Venice, BNM, cod. gr. 494, fol. 243^v (13th century).

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LARS MARTIN HOFFMANN

Historia [anonymi] Eduardi Tertii

14th century. England. The title was given by Thomas Hearne to a chronicle covering the life of Edward III from his coronation at the age of 15 in 1326 until his death in 1377, which Hearne added to his 1731 edition of → Walter of Guisborough (Hemingford). He describes the *Historia* as being previously unedited and based upon a codex owned by the antiquarian and bishop Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), but he does not identify the manuscript. In fact it is a compilation derived from Adam → Murimuth and → Ranulf Higden, using material from Higden's *Polychronicon* and its continuation after Murimuth's chronicle ends.

Hearne appears to have created the text from two manuscripts in the Tanner collection, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner mss. 472 and 473 (*Summary Catalogue* nos. 32581, 32582). The first is described in the *Summary Catalogue* as a transcription that TANNER made from Oxford, Magdalen College, ms. 53, which includes the chronicle of Adam Murimuth from 1303–43 (as well as Walter of Guisborough's chronicle). The second is Tanner's transcription of part of Higden's *Polichronicon* and the continuation by John → Malverne, covering the years 1236–1377 with the Malverne continuation beginning ca 1348. Tanner's notes indicate that this second transcription was from an unidentified Magdalen College manuscript that he compared with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 197A. The unidentified manuscript would be Oxford, Magdalen College, ms. 147, the only Magdalen manuscript of Higden that includes the Malverne continuation to 1377.

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31–32, 70–71 of the Magdalen catalogue [Each college's catalogue is paginated separately]. *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 6, 1974, 174. E.B. GRAVES, *A Bibliography of English History to 1485*, 1975, no. 2898, 430. J. TAYLOR, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden*, 1966, 122–23, 127.

EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Historia archiepiscoporum

Bremensium

(History of the archbishops of Bremen)

14th–15th century. Germany. A Latin episcopal chronicle in prose and verse, compiled in three steps by at least three anonymous authors, following the pontificates of the bishops. The first part (788–1307), was probably written in 1307 by a canonicus of St. Willehadi monastery in Bremen. He predominantly used the chronicle by → Albert of Stade and sometimes → Adam of Bremen. From 1257 the work becomes more independent. In the mid-14th century it was extended to 1344 with two archbishops' biographies in elaborate rhyming hexameters. Around 1417 a third author attached less stringently composed biographies. The *Historia* is focussed on the bishops' deeds, and their relationship to town and citizenry. The conflicts between the bishops' ministerials and the town are a recurring theme.

The work survives in six manuscripts, the three most important being: Bremen, SB and UB, msa 0044 (1324); Hamburg, SB and UB, cod. hist. 95 (ca 1590) and cod. hist. 97 (late 15th century). In the 15th century it was translated into Middle Low German for the → *Chronica Bremensis* and served as a template for the Latin chronicle of Heinrich → Wolter. It was printed by Eropld Lindenburg in *Historia archiepiscoporum Bremensium* (Leiden, 1595) and again in *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum septemtrionalium* (Frankfurt, 1609). There is no complete modern edition.

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JAN ULRICH BÜTTNER

Historie of the Arrival of King Edward IV

1471–72. England. The *Historie* is a Yorkist account of events from 2nd March to 26th May 1471 in English prose, charting the Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury and Edward IV's recovery of the English throne. It initially circulated as a short French newsletter (ca May 1471), apparently written by Nicholas Harpissfeld, a clerk at the signet office at the time; then in a short English translation (before April 1472), from which a royal servant, possibly a herald, composed a long English *Historie* (ca 1472), adding his own material (see VISSER-FUCHS for a fuller account of the complex textual history). The author of the long version claims to have seen most of Edward IV's *exploytes*, but SCASE argues that the eyewitness perspective is a function of a "poetics of spectacle". Some critics have suggested that the author may have written the → *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire 1470*.

The French version, a source for → Basin's *Histoire de Louis XI* and Philippe de → Commines' *Mémoires*, survives in four contemporary manuscripts, two of which (Ghent, UB, ms. 236 and Besançon, BM, ms. 1168) are illuminated. The short English version survives in London, BL, add. ms. 46354 and London, College of Arms, ms. 2 M 16 (both 16th century). The long *Historie* survives in London, BL, Harley ms. 543 (16th century).

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SARAH L. PEVERLEY

Historia Augusta

late 4th century. Italy. A series of Latin imperial biographies in the mould of → Suetonius covering the emperors from Hadrian to Carus and his two sons bearing the names of six different authors who claim to be writing around the beginning of the fourth century. This was accepted until 1889 when DESSAU demonstrated that it was the work of a single author, writing at the end of the century. This author began by writing serious biography based particularly on Marius Maximus (an earlier continuator of Suetonius), "Ignotus" (an unknown biographer), the → *Kaisergeschichte*, → Herodian, → Dexippus, and → Eunapius. But he grew bored of copying and reworking, and so gave full rein to his penchant for invention and humour. Thus the early lives are reliable, but the later lives, and those of the usurpers and caesars, are not. The problem for the modern historian is sorting fact from fiction.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Historia Bohemica, Polonica et Silesiaca

15th century. Silesia (Poland). Latin prose annalistic compilation from the outset of history till 1459, written perhaps by a clergyman of Wrocław, in the late 1450s or 1460s. The text, which fills ten manuscript folios, is based on a later version of the → *Chronica Bohemorum [anonymi]* covering the period up to 1420, to which some records about the Silesian and Polish history were added. This is followed by annals

depicting the events of the years 1418–59 with the accent on Wrocław. The work is one of the first expressions of the cultural identification of Silesians with the Czech kingdom in the 15th century. The text survives in a single manuscript, Wrocław, BU, IV F 104.

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MARIE BLÁHOVÁ
WOJCIECH MROZOWICZ

Historia Britonum abbreviata

14th century. England. A Latin prose mini-chronicle from Brutus to the last king of the Britons, Cadwaladr, based upon the commentary written to accompany the → *Metrical History of the Kings of England*, with some details from the *Metrical History* itself. Preserved in London, BL, Cotton Claudius D.vii, fol. 11^{va}–15^{va}. Unedited.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Historia Brittonum

[Britonum]

829/30. Wales. Short Latin history surviving in at least 35 manuscripts, representing nine recen-

sions, and also found in an Irish translation, *Lebor Bretnach* (ca 1072).

Rather than being a chronological account, it is a compilation of texts by authors of historical and legendary material and of genealogies of Welsh and English kings. It includes various origin stories of the Britons and the Scots, a life of St. Patrick, an account of the Roman occupation of Britain to 388, one of the wars between the Britons and Saxons to ca 685 and lists of the "wonders of Britain" and the "wonders of Ireland". Its sources include → Bede and oral traditions, and it was in turn a source for → Geoffrey of Monmouth and → Henry of Huntingdon.

The *Historia* has traditionally been attributed to "Nennius", but DUMVILLE considers it anonymous: the name, appearing only in a prologue found in five manuscripts and traceable to one of them, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 139, could have originated in the mid 11th century as a late addition to the manuscript tradition. Most of the manuscripts, DUMVILLE writes, attribute the work "anachronistically to → Gildas".

The Harleian recension, found in BL, Harley 3859 (late 10th, early 11th century) and three other manuscripts, best represents the original conception of the work. The earliest manuscript, Chartres, BM, ms. 98 (ca 900), lost in an allied bombing raid in 1944, survives in transcript. The "Vatican" recension, revised in England in 944, survives in full in four manuscripts, including a divided 11th-century codex Paris, BnF, lat. 9768 + Vatican, BAV, reg. lat. 1964. First published by Thomas Gale in *Historiae Britannicae et Anglicanae Scriptores XX* (1691), the *Historia* was edited several times in the 19th and 20th centuries.

HANNING describes the *Historia* as "a dangerous text from which to draw conclusions about actual happenings". It includes nevertheless a number of firsts: the first surviving account of the Briton descent from the Trojan Brutus; the first reference to the legend of Scota, the Egyptian princess after whom the Scots were named; and the first chronicle in which Arthur appears, although here as a *dux bellorum*, leader in battles, rather than as king. Concerning Arthur, it offers datable evidence of his development as a Christian leader and superhero. It lists Arthur's twelve battles. In one of these he defeats the heathens while carrying the image of the virgin Mary on his shield, and in the battle of Mt. Badon, he kills 960 of the enemy himself in one day. The *Historia* also

includes the stories known to readers of → Geoffrey of Monmouth of the arrival of the Saxons under Hengist and Horsa and of the Briton king Vortigern's search for a child without a father whose sacrificial blood can keep the king's tower from collapsing. The child, here named Ambrosius, becomes Geoffrey's Merlin.

Parts of the *Historia* suggest a secular *historia gentis* approach to history while others a *historia ecclesiastica* like → Bede's. The secular view would have developed during what CHADWICK believed to be period of national revival among the Welsh in the early 9th century. Thus the account of the Briton descent from the Trojans, intended to give the Welsh a distinguished ancestry, suggests a secular consciousness different from the ecclesiastical views of Gildas and Bede. Other parts, however, suggest Christian emphasis, as in a genealogy that traces the Britons back to one of the sons of Noah.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Historia compendiosa de regibus Britonum

possibly 13th or 14th century. England. An abbreviated version of → Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, from Brutus to 689, incorrectly said by the 16th and 18th-century antiquarians John Bale and Thomas Tanner to be based upon a lost source by the 14th-century Augustinian Friar John Bramis (Bramus, Bromus) since the author refers to a former compilation as *haec Bream* or *de compendio Brome*. Bramis's authorship of the source is questionable, since at least one manuscript of the *Historia* is older than an Anglo-Norman romance, *Waldef*, that Bramis is known to have translated into Latin. Possibly because the author made some additions based upon → Ralph of Diceto's 12th-century chronicle, Thomas Gale incorrectly attributed the *Historia* itself to Ralph in the edition published in his *Historia Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae scriptores XV [Scriptores quindecim]*, 1691, 551–59. Survives in BL, Arundel 220 and BL, Cotton Julius D.vi, both from the early 14th century.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Historia Compostellana

12th century. Galicia (Iberia). A Latin work, mainly concerned with Diego Gelmírez, first archbishop of Santiago de Compostela. *Historia Compostellana sive de rebus gestis D. Didaci Gelmirez, primi Compostellani archiepiscopi* is the title given by FLÓREZ, who first published it in 1765. It is basically a gesta, a narrative of Gelmírez's considerable accomplishments. But the authors refer to their work as *registrum*, a new form which combined direct documentary transcription with the historical narratives that framed the documents. We are faced, then, with a combination of *gesta* and *registrum*.

It is an extensive work divided into three books, encompassing primarily Gelmírez's term as

bishop (1100–1120) and then archbishop of Santiago de Compostela (1120–1140). All the authors were from the circle of Gelmírez. LÓPEZ ALSINA speaks of three main authors: Nuño Alfonso, Gerald and Pedro Marcio, and of at least two secondary authors, Hugo and Pedro. The first part, by Nuño Alfonso, could have been composed in 1109–10. Hugo probably wrote his chapter (I, 15) about 1109, but we cannot date Pedro's interpolation. Gerald may have written in 1120–23 and Pedro Marcio later (1145–49). This is one of the most important characteristics of the work: the authors were contemporaries of the events narrated.

Of the eighteen surviving manuscripts, the principal codices are Salamanca, BU, ms. 2658; Santiago de Compostela, Archivo-Biblioteca de la Catedral, ACS CF 39 (15th century; in the same library ACS CF 6 & 7, 16th century) and Pontevedra, Museo de Pontevedra, Comp P.

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EMMA FALQUE REY

Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum

8th century. France. The text was inserted into the chronicle of pseudo → Fredegar with its two continuations. It precedes Fredegar's account of the Trojan origins of the Franks and falls into two distinct parts. The first is a reduction of the *De excidio Troiae* of Ps-Dares the Phrygian to one eighth of its length, the second a legendary history of the Franks and the Romans after the fall of Troy, which shows some affinities with the *Cosmographiae* of Aethicus Ister, but is unfortunately spoilt by gaps in the story. Among the handful of extant manuscripts are Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine, ms. H 158, Vatican, BAV, regin. lat. 213 and London, BL, Harley ms. 3671.

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RÉGIS RECH

Historia ducis Henrici

ca 1493–1504. Silesia. This short Latin prose chronicle depicts the Mongolian invasion of Poland in 1241 and the last days of the life of duke Henry II the Pious (son of Henry I the Bearded and St. Hedwig), who was killed in the battle of Legnica against the Mongols. Written 250 years after the events described, the work is actually to be read in the context of the Turkish threat: *Turci sive Thartari* (Turks or Tartars). The *Historia* follows the Silesian folk tradition about to St. Hedwig and her son. Certain threads are based on the *Carmen miserabile* of → Roger of Oradea. The single copy of *Historia* was handwritten into a copy of Hartmann → Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*: Wrocław, BU, XV F 142.

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Text: S. SOLICKI, "Historia ducis Henrici—odnalezienie źródła legendy tatarskiej z baumgartenowskiej edycji Żywota św. Jadwigi", *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, 47 (1992), 449–55. Literature: S. SOLICKI, "Geneza legendy tatarskiej na Śląsku", in W. Korta, *Bitwa legnicka. Historia i tradycja*, 1994, 125–50.

WOJCIECH MROZOWICZ

Historia ducum Venetorum (History of the Venetian doges)

13th century. Northern Italy. This anonymous Latin chronicle runs from the reign of the doge Ordellafo Falier (1102–18) to the death of the doge Pietro Ziani (1228). It is transmitted untitled in a single 13th-century manuscript (Venice, Biblioteca del Seminario Patriarcale, ms. 951, fol. 35–45) which suggests that it was written immediately after Ziani's death. The work has no dedication, but in the prologue the chronicler openly declares his intents: he underlines that, because God has always bestowed his favour and much glory upon the Venetians and has made them renowned all over the

world, he thinks it is advisable to divulge what happened during the government of the doges and what the doges themselves have done. The loss of the *folia* describing the events between the death of the doge Sebastiano Ziani (1178) and 1203 has unfortunately deprived us of the account of the Venetian source nearest to the Fourth Crusade. The 19th-century MGH edition used the title *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, which in a more recent edition has been changed to *Historia Ducum Venetorum*, because the Venetians were called *Venetici* only during the early Middle Ages.

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Text: L.A. BERTO, "Historia ducum Venetorum", in *Testi storici veneziani (XI–XIII secolo)*, 1999, 1–83 [with Italian translation]. Literature: *RepFont* 5, 546.

LUIGI ANDREA BERTO

Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis (Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon)

later 12th century. England. Anonymous but extensive Latin prose chronicle and cartulary from the great Benedictine monastery at Abingdon, Oxfordshire. After a brief and partly legendary introduction concerning events dating from the supposed conversion of the British King Lucius in 201, the first part consists largely of transcripts of charters and deeds of the monastery, supposedly in chronological order, covering the years 689–1066. After 1066 the narrative is also political and social, though mixed with monastic history. The earliest version, found in BL, Cotton Claudius ms. C.ix (perhaps late 12th century), extends from the foundation of the abbey in the 7th century to ca 1160, occupying approximately 140 manuscript pages. This version is arranged in two books, the second beginning with the election of the first Norman abbot, with somewhat greater emphasis placed on the post-Conquest period. A revised and enlarged version, written in the early 13th century, is found in BL, Cotton Claudius ms. B.vi and covers events up to 1189. The use in both versions of charters and other documents from the abbey's history, many of which are included in full, suggests that the chronicle may have been written in part to establish and safeguard the land holdings and rights of the abbey. Special attention is also paid to biographical portraits of many

of Abingdon's abbots, especially Aethelwold and Faritius, who are presented as examples of morality and leadership. The work is informative on the topography of and life in early England. The compiler had read some classical writers, placed existing documents in order, and sometimes admits ignorance. Although the chronicle was not printed in full until 1858, extracts from it are found as early as the 1607 edition of William Camden's *Britannia*.

The version of the → *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in BL, Cotton Tiberius ms. B.i, sometimes known as the *Abingdon Chronicle*, is unrelated.

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BRIAN MURDOCH
WILLIAM SMITH

Historia seu Epistola de morte Ladislai regis Ungariae

1458. Austria. Short Latin prose chronicle by an anonymous supporter of King Ladislaus Postumus (1440–57), heir to Hungary and Bohemia, describing how aristocrats in both countries tried to usurp the king's power. The events leading to his death begin with the murder of his counsellor, Count Ulrich of Cilly, in 1556. Mathias Corvinus (Hunyadi), the brother of Ladislaus' murderer, succeeded to the Hungarian throne two years later. The preparations for Ladislaus Postumus' marriage with Madelaine of France also provoke a crisis in Bohemia: Governor George of Podiebrad creates an intrigue against the finance minister Konrad Hölzler from Vienna, and before his manipulations are discovered, poisons the king and succeeds to the Bohemian throne. Dialogues and the motif of the tyrant who involuntarily reveals his crime are characteristic of its rhetorical style. Like Helene → Kottanner, and Eneas Sylvius → Piccolomini, the chronicle contributes

to Ladislaus Postumus' biography, and is part of a rich literature treating his mysterious death.

This narrative existed in several manuscripts, some of the 15th century, which are believed to be lost. It was a source for Sigismund → Rosicz' chronicle, for a plea against George of Podiebrad by Rudolf of Rüdeshheim, and for → Eschenloer's history of Wroclaw.

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Text: F. PALACKY, *Zeugenverhör über den Tod König Ladislaw's von Ungarn und Böhmen*, 1856. F. WACHTER, "Historia seu epistola de miserabili morte serenissimi regis Ungarie, Dalmacie, Bohemie", SRS 12, 1883, 87–92. Literature: *RepFont* 5, 520.

BARBARA SCHMID

Historia Fossatensis

8th–12th century. France. Title given by Waitz to a text from which two excerpts appear in manuscript Berne, Burgerbibliothek, 324, containing a historical miscellany of → Hugh of Fleury. The first excerpt, included in a passage from Hugh's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, recounts the ruinous condition of the abbey of St. Maur des Fossés in the Paris region, and the decision to rebuild the monastery in the Loire valley. The second, in a passage from the *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, is largely concerned with the deeds of Burcard, whose Vita is found in St. Maur manuscripts, but is mostly interesting for its early evidence of the legend of Charlemagne's crusade to the Holy Land, which the author uses to explain the presence of certain holy relics from Constantinople in Compiègne and St. Denis. It also recounts the burial of Pippin the Short, face downwards, at St Denis.

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Text: G. WAITZ, MGH SS 9, 370–74. MIGNE, PL 163, 863–872. Literature: C. BEAUNE, "Raoul de Presle et les origines de Paris", in D. Boutet & J. Verger, *Penser le Pouvoir*, 2000, 17–32. A. DIERKENS, "La mort, les funérailles et la tombe du roi Pépin le Bref (768)", *Médiévales*, 15 (1996), 37–51. M. GABRIELE, "The Provenance of the Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus", *Viator*, 39, 2 (2008), 93–117. *RepFont* 5, 521.

KEITH BATE

Historia Francorum Senonensis

before 1034. Sens (Yonne, France). Short Latin chronicle of French kings, covering the period 688–1015, with a violent anti-Capetian bias. Used at Fleury to continue the *Gesta Francorum* of → Aimon of Fleury. It provided material for the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of → Hugh of Fleury, → William of Jumièges, → Orderic Vitalis and the author of the → *Chronicon S. Petri Vivi*. Sole manuscript: Vatican, BAV, regin. lat. 753A. First published by A. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores* III, 1641.

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Text: G. WAITZ, MGH SS 9, 1851, 364–9. Literature: J. EHLERS, "Die Historia Francorum Senonensis und der Aufstieg des Hauses Capet", *Journal of Medieval History*, 4 (1978), 1–25. *RepFont* 5, 523f.

RÉGIS RECH

Historia Frisiae

15th century. Low Countries. A Latin chronicle of ca 50 pages, written by a cleric from Frisia west of the Lauwers. This prose chronicle consists of thirteen, partly legendary stories on the history of the Frisians from their origins until 1248. Important motifs are the Frisians' conversion and devotion to Christianity (e.g. in the crusades), and their acquisition of freedom and law. These same stories are also presented, though with differences in order and narrative approach, in the Frisian and Dutch chronicles → *Gesta Fresonum*, → *Olde Freesche Cronike* and → *Aldfrysk Kronykje*. When the text was discovered in a German manuscript of ca 1490 (Munich, BSB, clm 461) by Hartmann → Schedel, it was at first thought to be the Latin source on which these other versions of the *Gesta*-tradition were based. A closer look, however, revealed that the *Historia Frisiae* in some respects diverges significantly from these texts, so that its position within the tradition is still uncertain.

The text has been variously dated from the 14th century until the end of the 15th. A dating in the second half of the 15th century seems likely however, considering the dates of the related texts and the (albeit disputed) use of some early humanistic elements; closer study remains highly desirable. Within the tradition, the *Historia Frisiae* is unique

for inserting the integral texts of the false Privilege of Charles the Great and a privilege by the Roman king William II of 1248, hereby highlighting the claim to freedom for the Frisians. It is also exceptional in that every story contains a parallel with a biblical story, suggesting that the Frisians are a "chosen people" like the Jews. The extent to which this biblical motif is used for the glory of the author's own people seems to be exceptional for European medieval historiography in general and should be studied in a broader context. Geographically, it is most likely to have been written in Frisia west of the Lauwers, possibly in the Cistercian monastery of Klaarkamp (see *Gesta Fresonum*); the extensive biblical knowledge suggests a clerical authorship.

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JUSTINE SMITHUIS

Historia foundationis Bellalandae

[History of the founding of Byland Abbey; Fundatio domus Bellalandae]

12th century. England. Account of the founding of the Cistercian abbey of Byland (Bechland, Bellalanda) in Yorkshire in 1138, during the reign of Henry I. Surviving in a 17th-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dodsworth 63, which is based on the now-missing leaves of the Byland cartulary, it was written around 1197 by Abbot Philip of Byland, whose account of the monastery's founding and that of its sister house at Jervaulx were based on *humana memoria*, what he had heard from his predecessor Abbot Roger *et aliis senioribus huius Domus* (and other aged members of his house). The house was originally established at Calder in Cumberland in 1134, but after their building was destroyed by invading Scots in 1137, the monks settled at Hood (either through the help of Archbishop Thurstan at York or of the mother of Sir Roger de Mowbray,

Gunredra, who was moved by their poverty). In 1142 they moved to a larger building at Byland, and then in 1147 to another site at Stocking, since Byland was too near another Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx. It was first published in William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1 (1655), 1027–34, with a different shorter account from an unidentified Cottonian manuscript in the same volume, 775–79, emphasizing the piety of Roger de Mowbray and presenting texts of the abbey's charters.

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Text: J. CALEY, H. ELLIS & B. BANDINEL, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A New Edition*, 1846, 5, 349–54.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Historia foundationis monasterii S.

Viti martyris Gladbacensis

[Chronicon Gladbacense]

post-1065. Germany. Short anonymous Latin history of the foundation of the monastery in Gladbach in the Rheinland. The text describes the early history of the Benedictine abbey, which was founded by archbishop Gero of Cologne ca 974. The anonymous author indicates two powerful abbots of his time, Henry of Gladbach and Wolfhelm of Brauweiler, as those who helped him to collect the testimonies. The text, which may have been written in Brauweiler rather than Gladbach, is composed in rather simple Latin, and focuses on the circumstances connected with a lengthy search for a suitable location for this monastic foundation. It tells of the controversies between the bishoprics of Cologne and Liège, and also about the activities of the first abbot, Lotharingian reformer Sandrad.

The earliest manuscript is Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, no 72, written 1120–30. This also contains hagiographical pieces concerning saints venerated in Gladbach; it was used by PETRY in his edition. The 16th-century manuscript on which earlier editions were based has been lost since 1866.

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Text: G.H. PERTZ, MGH SS 4, 1841, 73–77. M. PETRY, *Die Gründungsgeschichte der Abtei St. Vitus zu Mönchengladbach* (Beiträge zur Geschichte von Stadt und Abtei Mönchengladbach 5), 1974 [with German translation].

Literature: *RepFont* 5, 525f.

MICHAL TOMASZEK

Historia Gelriae

ca 1500. Low Countries. Chronicle about the duchy of Guelders, written in Latin by an unknown author, perhaps from the city of Roermond in the south of the duchy. The last part of the chronicle, dealing with the period from 1471 onwards, is lost.

The *Historia Gelriae* begins with an explanation of the author for writing this chronicle: people should know the history of their native soil and native rulers, and should have the opportunity to learn from the past. Then the *Historia* continues with a brief contemplation of human wickedness. To curb iniquity, God has appointed rulers, first the Assyrians, then the Medes, then the Perians and others, and finally the Franks. In order to spread Christianity, the Franks created kingdoms, duchies, counties and lordships. This was the context within which Guelders came into being, according to the *Historia*. Like → Willem van Berchen and other chroniclers, the author explains the origin of Guelders with a story about two brother who in the year 878 killed a beast or dragon that was crying "Gelre, Gelre".

The author divides the history of Guelders in three parts: first, Guelders was an advocacy; subsequently, in the 11th century, the emperor turned this into a county; and finally, in 1339, he made the county into a duchy. The most interesting part of the chronicle is that which deals with the 15th century, in which Guelders was plagued with continuous conflicts between duke Arnold (1423–65, 1471–73) and the cities and knights, culminating in the imprisonment of Arnold and the assumption of power by his son Adolph in 1465. Here, the author of the *Historia* makes a fierce stand against the rebellious cities (particularly Nijmegen) and Adolph.

The chronicle is written in vivid Latin, with many monologues and dialogues. Although the author does not mention his sources, he must have used the *Kroniek van Gelre* of → Willem of Berchen, and also → Froissart's *Chroniques*. The

Historia Gelriae has survived in one 16th-century manuscript: Utrecht, UB, 780.

Bibliography

Text: J.G.C. JOOSTING, *Historia Gelriae*, 1902.

Literature: J. BAERTEN, "De invloed van Froissart op de Gelderse geschiedschrijving in verband met het huwelijkscontract tussen Reinald II en Sofia Berthout", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre*, 68 (1974–5), 51–6. P.J. MEIJ, "De Gelderse bloem in de Gelderse kronieken", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre*, 66 (1972), 1–37. A. NOORDZIJ, "Geschiedschrijving en nationale identiteit. Gelre in de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre*, 95 (2004), 6–48. A. NOORDZIJ, *Gelre. Dynastie, land en identiteit in de late middeleeuwen*, 2009. *Narrative Sources NL0520. RepFont* 5, 525.

AART NOORDZIJ

Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal

1219–29. England. Anonymous biography of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke and regent of England (1145–1219) in Anglo-Norman verse. This biography of the first great Marshal of England covers the period from his birth (ca 1145) to his death in 1219, when he had become the Earl of Pembroke. As the biography of a person of less than royal rank, the *Histoire* is unique for its period. Rising from relatively humble beginnings as the younger son of the king's Marshal, William made his reputation and his fortune through his prowess on the tournament field. As a royal officer, he served the Young King Henry II, Richard I and John before being appointed the Regent for the young Henry III. The account of his life is based on the memoirs and recollections of his circle, particularly those of John of Early who entered his service in 1187 and remained a friend and companion throughout William's life.

The *Histoire* was written by an otherwise unknown poet named Johans, at the request of the Marshal's eldest son, with the object of celebrating its subject's exploits. It survives in a single copy, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 888 (formerly Phillipps 25155) dating from the first half of the 13th century. Although it provides invaluable information on the Angevin kingdom in the late 12th and early 13th centuries, its veracity cannot be assumed. The poem of 19,214 lines is cast in the

form of medieval romance (octosyllabic couplets), and its author was considerably influenced by the literary traditions of both romance (e.g. accounts of William's tournaments) and of epic.

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MAUREEN BOULTON

Historiae Hierosolymitanae pars secunda

(Second part of the history of the Jerusalem pilgrims)

early 12th century. France. Anonymous Latin prose chronicle of the First Crusade, apparently an abbreviation of the chronicle of → Fulcher of Chartres. The author may have been Liziard of Tours, deacon in Laon 1153–68. The title originates with the *editio princeps* by Jacques Bongars (in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1612), who believed it belonged to a longer work, the first half of which had been lost. The narrative opens with Bohemond and Baldwin of Edesse's journey to Jerusalem and runs to 1124. The text includes interesting details absent in Fulcher's chronicle, and is particularly vivid in its details of the battles fought by king Baldwin. The principal manuscripts are Berne, St & UB, Bibliotheca Bongarsiana 367, fol. 128^r–152^r and Chartres, BM, fond de l'abbaye de Saint-Pere, lat. 130.

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Text: [P. LE BAS], *Historiae Hierosolymitanae secunda pars*, RHC Occ. 3, 1866, 618f.

Literature: *RepFont* 5, 528.

BEATA SPIERALSKA

History of the Kings of Britain

ca 1350. England, probably Southwest Midlands. This Middle English prose chronicle survives in a unique copy in London, College of Arms, Arundel 22, written ca 1425–50 and once owned

by the 16th-century antiquary Joseph Holand. It appears to be the earliest vernacular prose version of the legendary British history based on → Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*. Occupying 146 MS pages in double columns, the chronicle is a translation of Geoffrey's *Historia* from the beginning until the fight of Corineus with the giant Gogmagog, and thereafter of → Wace's *Roman de Brut*. The translation, possibly dating from the mid-14th century, is extremely literal. Minor innovations suggested by some scholars may be simply the result of scribal misreadings or of differences in source versions. The translator is unknown; the passage *Maister Gnaor þat þus book made* has been recognized as a scribal misreading for "Guace" (Wace). The Arthurian portion of the chronicle includes a transcription of the Latin Prophecies of Merlin incorporated into the manuscript apparently from an insert in an earlier exemplar.

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Laura Gabiger

Historia de landgraviis Thuringiae [Historia Eccardiana]

shortly after 1414. Germany. Latin regional history in a world-chronicle framework, presumably written by a Franciscan in Eisenach. The ill-chosen title *Historia de landgraviis* originates with the 1722 edition, obscuring the fact that this is actually a world chronicle in annalistic form from a Thuringian perspective, the author's aim being to locate the history of Thuringia within global history. The main source was an extended version of the → *Chronica Thuringorum*, the so-called *Historia Thuringorum amplificata*, also written in the Franciscan house of Eisenach. The author copied this almost entirely and added further parts especially from the → *Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*,

the → *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis moderna* and the → *Cronica minor Minoritae Erphordensis*.

The text survives under the title *Chronica Martiniana* in a 15th-century manuscript Jena, UB & LB, Hs. 2 Prov. 39, so-called because it includes comprehensive parts of the chronicle of → Martin of Opava until the time of Henry III and Alexander II. Many details of the early history of Thuringia were interpolated. A history of the landgravate from Lewis the Bearded until the year 1409, embedded into the history of emperors and popes, follows without noticeable break on folios 94^v–159^r. Two modern copies contain the text without these additions: Hanover, LB, ms. 1169 & 1170. The *Historia de landgraviis* is considered as one of the main sources for Johannes → Rothe.

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Text: J.G. ECCARD, *Historia genealogica principum Saxoniae superioris*, 1722, 351–468.

Literature: M. BALTZER, "Zur Kunde thüringischer Geschichtsquellen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte*, 18 (1897), 1–60, esp. 30–40. O. HOLDER-EGGER, "Studien zu Thüringischen Geschichtsquellen I", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 20 (1895), 407–21. V. HONEMANN, "Johannes Rothe und seine 'Thüringische Weltchronik'", in H. Patze, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, 1987, 497–522, esp. 505 ff. *RepFont* 5, 544.

Mathias Kälble

Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani

806–10. Italy. A Latin history of the Lombards. The text has no dedication, prologue, or title; the modern title reflects the fact that the manuscript in which it was found is housed in Gotha (Erfurt/Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, cod. Memb. I 84, fol. 335^v–337^v). It describes events from the origins of the Lombards to the early 9th century, ending with the expedition of Charlemagne's son, Pippin, against the Muslims in Corsica in 806 and with a praise of Pippin's campaigns in Italy. The chronicle therefore must have been finished before Pippin's death in 810. The *Historia* is written in two columns and is 263 lines long. Except for the origin of the Lombards, and some news about Pippin, this work is extremely concise. For

most of the Lombard kings, only the duration of their rule is reported. The author is anonymous, but the fact that he refers to what "our ancient parents said", when describing the Lombards' settlement in Saxony, suggests that he was probably a Lombard. Given his praise for Carolingian rule, he might also have been a member of Pippin's court. The author does not appear to know → Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*.

Bibliography

Text: L.A. BERTO, "Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani", in *Testi storici e poetici dell'Italia carolingia*, 2002, 1–19.

Literature: *RepFont* 5, 532.

Luigi Andrea Berto

Historia monasterii Hasnoniensis

11th century. France. Latin monastic chronicle of Hasnon (Nord, France), written in rhymed prose by a monk who came from the neighbouring monastery of St. Amand to reform the Benedictine house at Hasnon. A misunderstanding of the superscript in the manuscripts Valenciennes, BM, 529 and 769 caused early scholarship to name the author Tomellus. The word *tomellus* (small book) is indeed a fitting description for this short 18-chapter text relating the history of the monastery from its beginnings in the 7th century to its restoration under Count Baudoin I of Hainaut (1051–70).

The author relies on the monastic archives for the material in chapters 1–7 but is an eyewitness to the events he relates in chapters 8–18. However a charter of Charles the Bald (877) is the only document cited. A pivotal chapter is 17, describing the dedication of the restored monastery. The presence of the relics of the saints of the principalities of Flanders and Hennuyère, whether evangelisers or founders of prestigious ecclesiastical buildings, make this event important politically and spiritually. The final chapter, treating the abbot Rotland (1070–84), is an addition. The main bulk of the text was written after the dedication in June 1070, but no mention is made of the death of Baudoin some six weeks later nor of his burial in the monastery he had just restored.

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Jean-Pierre Gerzagnet

Historia monasterii Usercensis

ca 1148. France. Latin chronicle of the Benedictine monastery of Uzerche in Limousin. Short chronicle from the foundation of the monastery (which the author attributes to Pippin in 760) to the abdication of abbot Bernard ca 1148 and his subsequent retreat to the monastery of Obazine. While it is essentially a history of the monastery, it also sheds light on the noble families of the Limousin. No manuscript survives. It was first published by E. Baluze in *Historia Tutelensis libri tres*, 1717.

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Text: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, 14, 334–42. J.-B. CHAMPEVAL, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Uzerche*, 1901, 13–50.

Literature: *RepFont* 5, 545.

Régis Rech

Historia Norwegie [Historia Norwagiensium]

later 12th century. Norway. Latin. The anonymous *Historia Norwegie* is an elaborate piece of national historical writing, perhaps the first such work to be produced in Norway. Only the first book has been transmitted with its preface, a thorough geographical introduction, and the lineage and deeds of kings up to the accession of Óláfr Haraldsson (1015). In its original form the *Historia* must have comprised two, three or more books, and was thus the longest Latin chronicle we know from medieval Norway. Because of its fragmentary state it is not possible to narrow down the circumstances of composition, but from various internal evidence it is possible to infer that it belongs to royal and/or episcopal circles in eastern Norway (perhaps Oslo) not too long after the

establishment of the archdiocese at Trondheim (1152/53), that is, in the 1160s or 1170s.

Extending the model of → Adam of Bremen, the author offers a local view of the process of Christianisation and the present mission towards the pagans in the north. A particularly interesting passage describes a shamanic séance among the Sami—obviously both a fascinating and frightening example of pagan demonic power. The author also displays his skills in the stories about Olav Tryggvason (995–1000) and Olav Haraldsson, but just as the narrative opens up, it breaks off. The bulk of the extant text has been transmitted only in one Scottish manuscript from around 1500 (Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, Dalhousie Muniments, GD 45/31/1), which in turn draws on a historical collection made in Orkney in the 1420s.

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LARS B. MORTENSEN

History of the Old Testament

15th century. England. An anonymous prose retelling of Old Testament narratives in Middle English. In 226 folios, it surveys biblical history and legend from Adam in Genesis to Sadoch in Esdras. Its primary source is → Caxton's edition of John → Trevisa's English translation of Ranulf → Higden's *Polychronicon* (1482), particularly the first and second books. It may have been made to serve as part of a vernacular Bible in a time when the ownership of complete Bibles in English was prohibited by the Constitutions of Archbishop Thomas Arundel. The chronicle is a testament to the amount of biblical material Trevisa made available in English in the *Polychronicon* and to the wide circulation the English *Polychronicon* attained when Caxton printed it. It survives in one manuscript, Oxford, Trinity College, D 29, and has never been edited.

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JANE BEAL

Histoire de Païs-Bas 1477–92

15th century. France. Anonymous narrative in French of events in the Low Countries (principally the northern lands of the dukes of Burgundy) from the marriage of Mary of Burgundy to Maximilian of Austria (18 August 1477) to the recovery of Arras from French forces on 5 November 1492. It records dynastic and military events, ceremonial entries and peace treaties (such as the Peace of Arras, 1482), but also reports events elsewhere (the battle of Bosworth, England). It favours Maximilian's cause (though not his German mercenaries): his enemies are divinely punished by famine and plague. The imposition of the Flemish language in court documents in 1480 is a *chose bien nouvelle et non accoustumé* (a very new and unusual thing). In a rhetorical passage the author also denounces the murder of prisoners by Ghent.

DE SMET based his edition on a transcription made in 1769 of a document in the Chambre des Comptes in Brussels, and suggested the author was from Hainaut or Brabant, possibly employed in the Burgundian army or court. The manuscript cannot be traced.

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Literature: *RepFont* 5, 536.

KATHLEEN DALY

History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria

[Siyar al-bī'a al-muqaddasa]

11th and 13th centuries. Egypt. Written in Arabic, but partially translated from Coptic, by Coptic churchmen and lay officials of the late

11th century, it was extended to the first quarter of the 13th century, and indeed later addenda continued to be made until the 20th century.

The *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* is a multi-authored compilation of the biographies of the patriarchs of the Coptic church from St. Mark the Evangelist to the seventy-fourth patriarch, John VI (d. 1216). Long ascribed to the tenth-century writer Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa', the first Copt to compose prolifically in Arabic, *History of the Patriarchs* has been shown by DEN HEIJER and others to comprise the work of at least nine authors, among whom Sawirus does not number. DEN HEIJER has stressed the role of the prominent Alexandrian Copt Mawhüb ibn Mañūr ibn al-Mufarrij (ca 1025–1100) in rendering *History of the Patriarchs* in a durable form. Although many questions about the text and authorship of *History of the Patriarchs* remain, there is no question that it is the single most important literary source for the history of Christianity in Egypt, and of great value for non-ecclesial political and social history.

History of the Patriarchs is concerned above all with events within and affecting the hierarchy of the Coptic church; because of the centrality of that institution to the history of Egypt during the two millennia past, it is possible to extract from the biographies a great quantity of historically significant data. These data are useful controls for the numerous Arabic chronicles written from Muslim perspectives. For instance, the fact that the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, detained the patriarch (Michael I) shortly before the death of the former at the hands of Abbasid rebels has resulted in the preservation in *History of the Patriarchs* of a lengthy eyewitness account of Marwān's final days as a fugitive in Egypt. The writer, a monk and deacon named John, served as interpreter for Michael, who apparently spoke no Arabic, in his interviews with Marwān.

Using primarily internal evidence, DEN HEIJER has convincingly reconstructed the source-base of Mawhüb's 11th-century compilation. It rests upon five Coptic texts, which treat events from the first to eleventh centuries. Fragments of the oldest of these texts, the so-called *History of the Church*, have survived in Coptic. Examination has shown this work, itself partially dependent on → Eusebius of Caesarea, to be an indirect source for *History of the Patriarchs*; it was standard practice among authors in the tradition of historical writing which *History of the Patriarchs*

represents to emend and augment their source material, often in the course of copying the text. The five above-mentioned texts were thus modified, probably by Mawhüb himself, by the incorporation of several shorter works, chiefly possessing less overtly historical aims than *History of the Patriarchs* itself (e.g., liturgical or homiletical treatises). In addition to compiling and redacting these sources, Mawhüb contributed his own biographies of the 65th and 66th patriarchs, to 1092.

To Mawhüb's work were added analogous contributions up to the era of John VI (d. 1216), also covering part of the nineteen-year vacancy of the patriarchal seat which followed (to 1229). Although shorter notices were added on an ad hoc basis until the 20th century, many manuscripts end with John VI. This "primitive recension" is preserved in few manuscripts, among which is Hamburg, ar. 304, dated to 1260; this manuscript was used by SEYBOLD in his edition. Most manuscripts, by contrast, contain a "Vulgate" version, dating probably from the late 13th century, whose text varies in places from the primitive recension. It is in manuscripts of this Vulgate version that the ascription to Sawirus, which has not been entirely abandoned by modern scholarship, first appears. Neither a truly critical edition of *History of the Patriarchs* nor a study of its undoubtedly influential *Rezeptionsgeschichte* has appeared; the former was in preparation by DEN HEIJER as of 1996.

Manuscripts: The "primitive recension" of *History of the Patriarchs* is found in Hamburg, SB & UB, ar. 304; the manuscript of the "Vulgate" most frequently consulted has been Paris, BnF, ar. 301–2.

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LUKE YARBROUGH

Historiae Pisanae fragmenta

14th century. Italy. The anonymous Latin "Fragments of a History of Pisa" chronicles two distinct periods in the city's history, from 1191 to 1294, and from 1328 to 1337. The unadorned nature of the initial records in part one, focussing primarily on the succession of podestà and city council members, ultimately gives way to a more complete account of the city's history to include details such as the occasion of an eclipse, the establishment of Pisa's popolo party, or a narrative of the struggles against neighbouring city-states, including Pisa's famous defeat at the battle of Meloria in 1284. The second section of the history provides a more personal and detailed account of events in early-14th century Pisa, particularly with reference to motivations for and the details of conflicts between Pisa and the surrounding cities of Florence, Lucca, and Pistoia. Lists of the Pisan participants in these conflicts are lengthy, and they often mention familial relationships among the combatants. Also provided are accounts of events that affected specific Pisan neighbourhoods, such as the flood that devastated homes and shops in Kinsica in November 1333. The contrast between the two sections suggests that the author relied principally on written sources for the first section, and more heavily on eyewitness accounts for the second section. The most reliable manuscript is London, BL, add. 10027.

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Text: S. BONGI, *Fragmenta Historiae Pisanae*, *RIS*⁴, 24, col. 643–649.

Literature: E. CRISTIANI, "Gli avvenimenti pisani del periodo Ugoliniano in una cronaca inedita", *Bollettino Storico Pisano*, 26 (1957), 3–55, nt. 2 at 3. *RepFont* 5, 537.

LAURA MORREALE

Historia pontificum Romanorum [History of the Bishops of Rome]

late 12th century. Austria. A Latin chronicle from Zwettl, which presents the pontificates of the bishops of Rome from St. Peter to Celestin III, and dates back to 1191. Until 1187, it was written by an anonymous Cistercian from Zwettl and later continued by two authors, one of whom could have been abbot Rudiger (d. 1191). By the year 1154 its content is a compilation of various sources, later it presents original value. The main, well-educated author used the content of papal catalogues, *Liber pontificalis*, martyrdoms, patristic writing, collections of canons and decretals, liturgical texts, epitaphs, documents and especially historical works, among others by → Eusebius (translation by → Rufinus), → Epiphanius scholasticus, → Jerome, → Paul the Deacon, → Regino of Prüm, → Herman of Reichenau, → Bernold of St. Blasien, → Berthold of Reichenau, → Otto of Freising and the → *Annales Zwetlenses* written at about the same time. The author must have accessed the information from some of these works through chronicles compiled from them. In the narrative after 1154, the Lateran Council (1179) and the meetings of the pope and the emperor (1177, 1184) are particularly important. This history of popes was designed to be used internally in the monastery in Zwettl. Hence it is known from only one manuscript from monastery library in Zwettl (Stiftsbibliothek, 255, fol. 123–150); this manuscript presents a collection of works pertaining to computistics, theology and history, including the *Chronicon Zwetlense*.

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Literature: K. ROST, *Die Historia pontificum Romanorum aus Zwettl*, 1932. *RepFont* 5, 538.

STANISLAW ROSIK

Historia de Profectione Danorum in Ierosolymam (History of the Danish prefecture in Jerusalem)

ca 1200. Denmark/Norway. This small anonymous work in Latin prose tells of a crusade, undertaken by a group of Danes and Norwegians in 1191. The goal of the expedition was to assist

in liberating Jerusalem after its fall in 1187. The work focuses on the early phases of the expedition: the vow taken by Danish noblemen, their experiences in Norway after having met their Norwegian companions, and their shipwreck in the North Sea. When the crusaders finally reached Jerusalem, fighting had stopped as a result of the peace agreement in 1192 between King Richard and Saladin. Having seen the holy places the party returned home.

The author is well versed in contemporary crusading ideology and discourse, doing his best to depict the expedition as a heroic battle for the cause of Christ, although the major suffering on part of the crusading party was the loss of life in the shipwreck. The author was a Premonstratensian affiliated both to Tønsberg (southern Norway) and Børglum (northern Jutland). One of his aims was to justify the expedition in the eyes of contemporaries, and the account was no doubt written shortly after the events. The text is only transmitted in post-medieval copies.

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LARS B. MORTENSEN

Historia dello pseudo-Jamsilla [Cronaca di Jamsilla]

1261–2. Italy. Latin prose chronicle formerly (and wrongly) attributed to Nicola de Jamsilla or Jamvilla, who was, rather, the owner of the manuscript used for the first edition. Undoubtedly written by a *notarius*, secretary and confidant of King Manfred, reflecting royal interests and bias, the Chronicle covers events in the kingdom of Sicily from 1210 until 1258, focussing on Manfred's struggle against the Pope, with a quite openly apologetic purpose under the guise of apparent impartiality. It has been considered an official report of those years; this would explain why it does not include official documents as proof. The core event could be regarded as Manfred's escape from Teano to the faithful Saracen enclave of Lucera, the beginning of the conflict with Innocent IV, which is accurately described.

MURATORI's attribution to Nicola de Jamsilla has long since been challenged and other authors have been suggested, such as Nicola di Brindisi, Nicola da Rocca and, on firmer grounds, Goffredo of Cosenza. A continuation to this Chronicle for 1258–65 also exists. The oldest, but unfortunately much corrupted manuscript dates from the 15th century: Naples, BN, IX C 24. There are about 17 late manuscripts, dating to the 17th century.

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Literature: F. DELLE DONNE, *Politica e letteratura nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, 2001, 75–109. E. PISPISA, *Niccolò de Jamsilla: Un intellettuale alla corte di Manfredi*, 1984. *RepFont* 8, 209.

LORENZO LOZZI GALLO

Historia Roffensis (History of Rochester)

14th century. England. Attributed to William Dene. Chiefly a biographical chronicle in Latin about Hamo Hythe [Hethe], bishop of Rochester (1319–52), covering the period 1315–50, from Hamo's election to the point where Hamo's declining health prompted him to arrange for John de Sheppey to succeed him. The *Historia* is generally a mere list of names and events, but several occurrences are closely narrated. It is one of the chief sources for the deposition of Edward II because it includes details about legal procedures, as well as purportedly verbatim conversations, plus reports about the speeches and positions taken by various bishops. *Historia Roffensis* is also an important source for the career of Archbishop Simon Mepham of Canterbury (1328–33) and Edward III's Scottish campaigns. Events from the Hundred Years' War such as the sieges of Tournai and Calais, as well as the battle of Crécy, are narrated in detail. That the author accompanied Bishop Hamo in his itineraries is certain; little else about him is known. In the sole manuscript, London, BL, Cotton Faustina B.v, the *Historia* follows the *Registrum Roffense*.

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MICHAEL TWOMEY

Historia de Sancto Cuthberto

10th or 11th century. England. A brief Latin prose chronicle produced within the northern English monastic community of St. Cuthbert. Although concerned with the life of a saint, its primary interest is the development of the monastic community, its move from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street, and particularly its accumulation of land, wealth, and political power. The sources of the chronicle include at least three lives of St. Cuthbert. It may have influenced → John Wessington's *Libellus de exordio et statu ecclesie cathedralis Dunelmensis* and was a likely source for → Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio et procurso... Dunhelmensis, ecclesie*. It is preserved in three manuscripts: Cambridge, UL, Ff.1.27, pp. 195–202 (1150–1200); London, Lincoln's Inn, Hale 114, fol. 153^r–159 (early 15th century; Red Book of Durham; see → *Chronicle of the See of Lindisfarne*); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 596, fol. 203^r–206^v (11th/12th century). Roger Twysden first edited it in his *Decem scriptores* (1652).

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Text: J.H. HINDE, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea*, Surtees Soc. 51, 1868, vol. 1, 138–52. T. ARNOLD, *Symeonis Monachi opera omnia*, RS 75, vol. I, 1882, 196–214. T.J. SOUTH, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, 2002 [with translation].

EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Historia Saxonum sive Anglorum post obitum Bedae

(History of the Saxons or Angles after the death of Bede)

mid-12th century. England. A Latin account of the years 734–1148 compiled from the *Historia regum* attributed to → Symeon of Durham and from → Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia*, it was copied almost verbatim into the revised version (ca 1190) of → Roger de Howden's *Chronica major* as part one. The earlier years annalistically record events, especially battles, marvelous weather, and cosmic occurrences, noting the major secular and ecclesiastical figures; after the Conquest, the focus is increasingly on the north of England.

The title originates from a 14th-century hand writing in the sole surviving manuscript, London, BL, Royal 13.A.vi (ca 1150, with later additions). The same hand also added a brief summary of events to 1154 and a colophon (fol. 107b), *Explicit cronica Rogeri Howdene*, which indicates that the *Historia Saxonum* was attributed to Howden early; likewise Howden's chronicle in BL, Arundel 150 (13th century) is headed, *Incipit historia Anglorum siue Saxonum post venerabilem Bedam edita a magistro Rogero Houeden*. The *Historia Saxonum* was also a supplemental source for the chronicle of → Walter of Guisborough.

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Text: W. STUBBS, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, RS 51, 1868.

Literature: A. GRANSDEN, *HWE* 1, 225–6, 471.

MICHAEL TWOMEY

Historia Silense

(History of Silos)

12th century. Castile (Iberia). A Latin chronicle of Spain. Despite its importance, the *Historia Silense* carries many attendant difficulties. Its title derives from the identification of *domus seminis*, where the author entered monastic life, with the monastery at Santo Domingo de Silos, Kingdom of León, but in fact the name is probably a faulty expansion of an abbreviation for the monastery of *domnis sanctis* (Sahagún, León) or *sanctis Iohannis* in the town of León itself. Internal evidence suggests a composition date ca 1118 but the earliest surviving manuscript (Madrid, BNE, ms. 1181) is 15th century. The extant text is badly cor-

rupted. Early in the chronicle's transmission, a loss of folios was remedied by the crude insertion of the chronicle of → Sampiro of Astorga.

The anonymous author wrote in an elevated Latin style, replete with literary allusions, employing varied sources: the → Bible, classical authors (Sallust, Ovid, Virgil), the Frank Einhard as well as Spanish histories from the 7th–11th century. His stated intention to record the life of Alfonso VI (1065–1109) was unfulfilled in a complex and, apparently, disordered text. It opens with a lament for Spain's lost glory, continues with a reflection on divine punishment, an extended survey of Alfonso's ancestry (including a brief account of his murky rise to sole power in León) and closes with a detailed account of his father, Fernando I (1037–65). Central to the *Silense*, with its trenchant opinions, is a biblical perception of kingship as a covenant with God. Current misfortunes for León would end, as in the past, with the restoration of divine favour to Christians, the new Chosen People.

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JOHN WREGLESWORTH

Historiae Tornacenses

ca 1160–84. France. This Latin prose town chronicle of the town of Tournai in North-West France is a compilation carried out by an anonymous monk of Saint Martin's monastery or canon of Notre Dame cathedral chapter in Tournai. Among the sources, we can identify → Herman de Tournai as well as different *Vitae sanctorum*. The chronicle was used in the 14th century by → Jacobus de Guisia. The sole manuscript is Lille, BM, 591 (16th century).

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Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique, 73 (1925), 253–313. *RepFont*, 5, 544; 7, 620.

CHRISTIAN DURY

Historia de via Hierosolymis

(History of the road to Jerusalem)

[*Historia Belli Sacri* (History of the sacred war)]

12th century. Italy. Latin chronicle of the First Crusade and the Latin rulers in Levant (1095–1131), written by an anonymous Benedictine monk from Montecassino circa 1130. It covers the years 1095–1131, from the crusade of Peter the Hermit till the death of Bohemond II, prince of Antioch. The main sources of the author were: the → *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, and the histories of → Raymond of Aguilers and → Ralph of Caen.

The text was published in 1687 by Jean Mabillon from a Monte Cassino manuscript now lost. In the 19th century, the text of Mabillon's edition was reprinted in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* under the title *Tudebodus Imitatus et Continuatus*, because it was mistakenly believed to be a continuation of Peter → Tudebode. In 1968 JOHN FRANCE discovered a fragment of the text in the codex Paris, BnF, lat. 6041A, probably written in Italy in the 14th century.

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JERZY KALISZUK

Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi

14th century. England. Latin prose account of the reign of Richard II and the early years of

the reign of Henry IV of England, composed at the Benedictine Evesham Abbey in two parts: 1377–90, possibly by Nicholas Hereford, prior of Evesham (1352–92); and 1390–1402, which was written after Richard II's deposition (1399) during the reign of Henry IV. The chronicle is a compilation of John → Malverne's *Polychronicon* continuation (1377–81) and Thomas → Walsingham's chronicles, but includes independent information for the reign of Richard II not found elsewhere. It is usually bound with Ranulf → Higden's *Polychronicon* and therefore considered a continuation, but the chronicle was originally a separate account. It survives in 14 manuscripts, the earliest of which are BL, Cotton Claudius ms. B.ix (ca. 1404) and BL, Cotton Tiberius ms. C.ix (ca. 1413). It was first edited by Thomas Hearne in 1729.

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Text: G.B. STOW, *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi Secundi*, 1977.

Literature: G.B. STOW, "The Vita Ricardi as a source for the reign of Richard II", *Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers*, 4 (1973), 63–75. A. GRANSDEN, *HWE* 2, 157–8, 165–6. *RepFont* 5, 539.

SUSAN FORAN

Historia Walciodorensis monasterii

12th and 13th century. Low Countries. The anonymous history of the Benedictine abbey of Notre Dame at Waulsort on the Meuse, in the province of Namur (Modern Belgium), is contained in a prose account in manuscript Brussels, KBR, 8964 fol. 15–17 (van den Geyn 3516) and the 16th-century manuscript in Namur, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, 56. Written in the mid-12th century, the work begins with the foundation of the abbey in 945 by Eilbert, lord of Florennes, when it was given to Irish monks led by St. Cadroe(l), who died in 976. It includes an account of the capture of king Charles the Simple by Herbert of Vermandois, here presented as a brother of Eilbert, as well as the life of another Irish saint, Forannan, abbot from 962–982, and runs to 1101. A continuation from abbot Gottschalk's death in 1101 to 1231 was added by an anonymous author after 1242.

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BRIAN MURDOCH
KERSTIN PFEIFFER

Historia Welforum

[Historia Welforum Weingartensis; Chronica Altorfensium]

ca 1167–84. Germany. Latin. Probably commissioned by Welf VI. This anonymous prose chronicle is the most important work on the history of the Welfs, a dynasty of German nobles and rulers, and especially of its southern (Bavarian-Swabian) branch. It is based on various works on the history of the Welfs, among them probably the chronicles of → Hugh of St. Victor and → Otto of Freising.

It describes the rise of the Welf dynasty (*generationes principum nostrorum*) from Carolingian times to the death of the young count Welf VII in 1167. The author refers to the first assured ancestor, the Alemannic count Welf (died ca 825?), and points out the mythical origin of the dynasty from the first Franks, descended from the Trojan line, who defied the Romans, as well as the legend that the Welfs were descended from the Roman Catilina family, and hence blood relatives of the Latin poet Catiline; a connection is established by deriving Welf from Middle High German *welf* (modern German *Welp*) and Catiline from *catulus*, both of which designate a young dog. The Welf house is presented as equal to the royals, holding various kingly offices at court (*regio more*), possessing enormous political power and wealth, and establishing and supporting their own house monasteries at Altomünster, Weingarten and Steingaden, where several continuations of the chronicle were written (*Continuatio Steingademensis* covers the years 1167–91, *Continuatio Weingartenses* 1152–97, *Continuatio Weingartenses II* 1197–1208). The *Historia Welforum* enjoys historical rather than literary value

and reflects in high degree the conception and identity of the Welf house.

There are six manuscripts: Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, D 11; Stuttgart, LB, H.B. XV 72 & cod. hist. 2° 359; Munich, BSB, clm 12202a & clm 29091; and Berlin, SB, lat. quart. 795, which is now lost, but is the basis of an important edition. Two of these (Fulda & Stuttgart H.B. XV 72) originate in Swabian town of Weingarten/Schussengau, formerly known as Altdorf, the residence of the Welfs, hence in older scholarship the work was called *Chronica Altorfensium* or *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*.

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LEILA WERTHSCHULTE

Historiography of the Christian East

1. The Christian East; 2. Historiography of the Caucasus; 3. West Syrian historiography; 4. East Syrian historiography; 5. Christian Arabic historiography; 6. Conclusion

1. The Christian East

The "Christian East" refers to the Christian peoples of the eastern Mediterranean beyond Byzantium, that is, throughout Arabia, Syria, Iran, Egypt, and the Caucasus. These were the Christian peoples who were never subject to the East Roman (Byzantine) Empire, or who fell away from Byzantine rule and came under Arab domination over the course of the seventh century. Many of the distinct eastern Christian identities emerged as a consequence of the Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries, culminating in the Third and Fourth Ecumenical Councils (of Ephesus and Chalcedon respectively). These include the 'Nestorians' in Iran, and the rival Chalcedonian and Miaphysite churches of Syria and Egypt; eventually, the autocephalous church of Armenia would also set itself explicitly against the council of Chalcedon—that is, against the Chalcedonian church of Georgia, and against a Chalcedonian minority within Armenia.

The historiography of the Christian East includes histories and chronicles written by all of these groups. Parallel traditions developed relatively contemporaneously in Armenia, Syria, and Georgia; in Armenia and Syria in particular, the *Chronicle* of → Eusebius of Caesarea was the single most influential work in the development of local historical traditions. This text was translated independently in East and West Syrian circles in the late sixth and early seventh centuries and is the major influence on the form and content of chronographies in both regions. A significant testament to its influence is the fact that the only surviving complete text of the *Chronicle* is a translation into Armenian.

Armenian and East Syrian circles, the two Christian traditions of the Iranian world, exhibit a similar range of engagement with the outside world. In both traditions, history remained closely allied to stories of saintly mission and martyrdom and was regional in focus in the fifth and sixth centuries. Both traditions also see an explosion

of their awareness of outside events at the end of the seventh century, when the wars of Khusraw II prompted more universal history writing and a back-projection of these broader interests into the past. West Syrian writing has these broader interests earlier, with → John of Ephesus and → Zacharias scholasticus leading the Syriac continuation of the Roman ecclesiastical historical tradition. The historiography of the Arabic-speaking Christian communities emerged largely from these older Syriac and Greek traditions; by and large, they retained the universal focus that had developed throughout the Christian East, and occasionally incorporated aspects of the Muslim Arabic historiographical tradition as well.

2. Historiography of the Caucasus

Literature, including works of history, began to develop in the Caucasus (Armenia, Georgia, and Albania) in the early fifth century AD, following the invention of alphabetic scripts for the Caucasian languages. The first works of Armenian and Georgian history took the form of biographical or hagiographical Lives of major figures, including the *Life of Grigor the Illuminator* attributed to → Agat'angelos, the *Life of Nino* that appears in the → *K'art'lis C'xovreba* (Georgian Chronicle), and the *Life of Maštoc'*, the inventor of the Caucasian scripts, by → Koriwn. Almost nothing is known of the Albanian tradition, and both the language and the alphabet have since disappeared; the only surviving history of the Aluank' (Caucasian Albanians), that attributed to → Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, was composed in Armenian. More is known of the Georgian tradition, albeit only through the single extant work of Georgian historiography, the *K'art'lis C'xovreba*.

While the Georgian tradition retained its emphasis on the narration of history through Lives, the Armenian tradition began to include an element of narrative history and epic tales, beginning with the *Buzandaran* of → P'awstos. The works of Agat'angelos, Koriwn, and P'awstos formed the beginning of what came to be a single Armenian historical canon, with very few overlapping works (the history of → Elišē is the only example prior to the tenth century of a full re-narration of a historical event), which can be treated as a chain of historical tradition stretch-

ing through the works of → Sebēos in the seventh century and → Lewond in the eighth. Meanwhile, Armenian history began to reflect a distinctly Old Testament outlook, heavily influenced by the Books of Maccabees, with its tale of a people who gladly embraced martyrdom to protect their culture and faith from the encroachments of hostile powers.

After the eighth century, the universal history of → Movsēs Xorenac'i began to exert its influence. The *History* of Xorenac'i, which was itself deeply influenced by the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, served as model and mirror to the tenth-century historian → T'ovma Arcruni, and he came to be regarded as *Patmahayr*, or "Father of History". The work of T'ovma is the first example of "re-localized" Armenian history, and a parallel may be seen with the near-contemporaneous *History of the Albanians*. This localizing tendency did not fully take hold until after the twelfth century, however; the intervening histories of → Step'anos Asofik, → Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, and → Matt'ēos Urhayec'i retained both the universal outlook and the stated reliance on the earlier historiographical canon.

With the demise of the medieval Bagratuni kingdoms of Armenia and the rise of the kingdom of Georgia and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia in its place, Armenian historiography began to include local histories once more (e.g. → Smbat Sparapet for Cilician Armenia; → Step'anos Orbelian for the province of Siwnik'/Sisakan) alongside the more universal histories (e.g. those of → Kirakos Ganjakec'i and → Vardan Arewelc'i.) It is to some of these later medieval historians, notably Vardan, that we owe the survival of early versions of Syriac and Georgian texts.

3. West Syrian historiography

Historical writing in Syriac, like the greater part of Syriac writing in general, was focussed on the city of Edessa in the fifth century. The story of the correspondence between Abgar of Edessa and Christ, recorded and popularised by Eusebius, would form the core of the city's foundation myth, the *Doctrina Addai*. But even this pseudo-history also refers to the city's archives, which had been used from the third century and which, combined with external king lists would be used in the 540 → *Chronicon Edessenum*. Even

in much later chronicles, Edessa's early importance is reflected in the disproportionate amount of material devoted to it in sections covering the fifth century and before.

The sixth century saw the importation and elaboration of more developed forms of secular and ecclesiastical history from the Greek-speaking world. → Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite's account of Edessa's resistance to the Persians in the start of the sixth century shows an awareness of classical forms of history and cyclical patterns of historical change. Syriac ecclesiastical history, in the tradition of Eusebius of Caesarea or → Socrates scholasticus, also flourished in this era, though the genre was pushed to its limit by → John of Ephesus. John incorporates large amounts of secular material and occasionally allows the Arab phylarch and Miaphysite patron Mundhir to usurp the traditionally central role of the emperor.

The centuries following the Arab conquest saw a reversion to chronographies in the West Syrian tradition, like the *Chronicon Edessenum*, rather than literary ecclesiastical histories. These terse accounts, composed in the seventh to ninth centuries, record the calamities and political events that affected the Christians of the caliphate, and combine a broad sense of the deeds of their Muslim rulers with an extremely localised account of Christian history, which is often focussed on a particular region or monastery. Even the → *Zuqnin Chronicle*, whose author employs large-scale ecclesiastical histories from the past, such as Eusebius and John of Ephesus, have become heavily restricted in scope for the seventh and eighth centuries. The same era also saw the use of history as a basis for apocalyptic writing, such as that of → Pseudo-Methodius in the 690s, which rapidly spread into Greek and other languages.

The ninth century saw an attempt to write a more sophisticated universal history by → Dionysius of Tel Mahre, who composed linked secular and ecclesiastical histories. These are not extant, but extended from the late sixth century and self-consciously continued the Syriac histories of late antiquity. His work was part of an encyclopaedic fashion in the middle 'Abbasid period, and represents a basis, in form and content, for the West Syrian historians who succeeded him in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the → *Chronicle of 1234* and → Michael the Great.

4. East Syrian historiography

Syriac "historical awareness" in the Church of the east is mainly restricted to martyria and missionary accounts that represent the "foundation myths" of the catholicoi of Ctesiphon. Histories may have been composed from expanded versions of lists of catholicoi, supplemented by this hagiographic material, from the late fifth century, though exact reconstructions are not possible and rely on later Arabic and Syriac sources like the → *Chronicle of Se'ert* and on the eastern material preserved in → Gregory Bar 'Ebrōyō.

The sixth century saw more detailed institutional histories, focussing on the School of Nisibis and its successors (such as → Barhadbshabba 'Arbaya) and on the "reformed" monastic movement of Abraham of Kashkar. Much of this material is also not extant, but is clearly visible in later Arabic and Syriac histories such as Thomas of Marga or Ishodnah of Basra. However, it is only at the very end of this century that these strands of history became integrated with older narratives focussed on the catholicoi and with material drawn from Roman ecclesiastical history. Together, these histories asserted the symbiosis of catholicos, monasticism and the school system and the centrality of the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia to the eastern church.

Later decades also saw the composition of a bilingual chronography in the Eusebian style by → Elia bar Shinaya, though he should be distinguished from the western minor chroniclers by his much broader scope and his more extensive use of Arabic sources. These features might be taken as general indications of the relative importance of the western and eastern regions of Syriac culture in the 'Abbasid period, especially since Elia represents only the tip of the iceberg of a now vanished literary culture, testified to in the thirteenth century book catalogue of 'Abdisho of Nisibis. Many of these Islamic-era east Syrian histories may leave traces in Christian Arabic compilations of the tenth century and later.

5. Christian Arabic historiography

Christians whose communities had formerly used Greek, Syriac, or Coptic would continue to write universal histories within their Melkite, "Jacobite" and "Nestorian" traditions in the

language of their new rulers, beginning with the tenth century chronicle of the Egyptian Melkite → Eutychius. Eutychius' chronicle incorporates material composed by Muslims, and through them Sasanian Persian traditions as well, and his composition reflects the increasing permeability of historical traditions in the Islamic period. At the same time, the continuations of his chronicle in the Levant also show the importance of history for demarcating the boundaries of confessional identities in the absence of a Christian state.

Other communities show similar patterns to the Melkite Eutychius. Iraqi compositions, such as the tenth century → *Chronicle of Se'ert* and the recently discovered → *Mukhtasar al-Akhbar al-Bi'iyā* are examples of a "Nestorian" universal chronicle tradition stretching from Jesus to the compilers' own days. These employ older Syriac histories translated into Syriacised Arabic, and are notable for their readiness to use Islamic formulae in a Christian context and for their flagrant anachronisms. These too represent attempts to present universal histories, with material shared by all Christians as well as Roman, Sasanian and Islamic "secular" history, which set out the prestige and orthodoxy of the "Nestorians". Briefer compilations, such as those of → Mari ibn Sulayman and Sliba, continue this agenda but restrict their narrative to the catholicoi and their succession.

Jacobites seem to have been marginally less active in the composition of Arabic historiography. An important exception is → Gregory Bar 'Ebrōyō's *Mukhtasar al-duwāl*. In spite of its name, this is no mere summary of his Syriac history and also incorporates Muslim Arabic sources, leading him to present Muhammad as an instrument of God, rather than stressing forced conversion to Islam, and to include the biographies of Islamic scholars. Bar 'Ebrōyō, Eutychius, and the *Chronicle of Se'ert* all provide good examples of Christians incorporating Muslim Arabic material into historical traditions that originated in Greek or Syriac, both for encyclopaedic reasons (befitting their status as universal chronicles) and to set out a paradigm of ideal relations between Muslims and Christians. However, not all texts in Arabic had such broad aims, and some, such as the fourteenth-century *Kitab al-Tawārikh* of Yuhannan al-Mawsuli are compendia of dates that deal only with intra-Christian developments.

The Arabic historiographical tradition within the Coptic community begins in the eleventh

century with the → *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, an Arabic translation and re-working of earlier Coptic-language histories. The original compiler of the *History of the Patriarchs*, Mawhūb ibn Maṅūr ibn al-Mufarrij, made very little use of sources from outside the Coptic tradition, although the earliest of these sources did partially base itself upon the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. Similarly, → Yūsāb al-Muḥabrak of Fūwah seems to have used Coptic sources exclusively. The universalist tendency asserted itself relatively quickly, however, with the history of → Ibn al-Rāhib and his successor al- → Makīn, who drew upon Jewish and Arabic sources as well as those of other Christian confessions.

6. Conclusion

A great deal of scholarship remains to be done in providing modern editions and translations of the vast majority of the Eastern Christian histories, and many questions about the content, structure, nature, and purpose of each work remains unanswered (PALMER, GREENWOOD, DEN HEIJER). Some general trends are nonetheless clearly visible. The beginnings of historiography in these regions from Syria to the Caucasus developed according to Greek and Biblical models shortly after the spread of Christianity, and were heavily influenced by the works of Eusebius of Caesarea. These traditions, at first almost exclusively local and focussed on a single ethnic group, underwent a sudden and dramatic shift around the time of the Arab conquest, particularly in Armenia and Syria, toward more universal histories that incorporated a variety of sources, borrowed from each other, and had a much broader scope. The first Arabic Christian histories appeared in a second universalising moment as part of a wider era of Abbasid humanism in the tenth century, reflecting and extending the historiographical traditions of the ethno-confessional groups from which they arose.

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TARA L. ANDREWS
PHILIP WOOD

Hoeneke, Bartholomäus

14th century. Germany. Author of the so-called *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* (Younger Livonian Rhymed Chronicle), which was apparently written in Low German verse. Hoeneke may have been a priest of the Teutonic Order who lived in the castle of Weißenstein, though this is uncertain. His text is mentioned in Johann Renner's *Livonian Histories* (16th century). Renner, whose historical narrative runs from 470 BC until 1582, regards the text as a valuable source for the years 1315 to 1348. There is no surviving manuscript, and the original text is thus lost, but HÖHLBAUM's "edition" gathers parts of Renner's prose text in an attempt at a reconstruction. Hoeneke's text is not related to the → *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik*.

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MICHAEL NEECKE

Hollandse Adelskronieken (Chronicles of the nobility of Holland)

15th/16th century. Low Countries. Collective name for a group of genealogies of noble families produced in Holland, both in Latin and in Middle Dutch ca 1450–1550. Whereas some were written by well known authors like → Johannes a Leydis, and Theodericus → Pauli, the majority of these text are anonymous and undated. Some are still unpublished. Of particular importance are two collections which are each transmitted in a single manuscript.

The collection in the Royal Library in Brussels (KBR, 6045–54) contains a set of almost thirty Latin genealogies, varying from forty pages to four sentences. It was copied by Cornelis van Mierop (1509–72), official in the Council of Holland and member of the St. Mary Chapter at the court chapel in The Hague, and hence is known as the Mierop-series. It shows a marked preference for the lineages of the families Heusden (first in the sequence) and Arkel (second, but the most elaborated text). Histories of several collateral branches of these lineages are also included.

The second, as yet unpublished collection is preserved in the Royal Library of The Hague (KB, 131 G 31). This Middle Dutch manuscript from the 1530s contains a collection which is closely related to the Mierop-series, but which includes the histories of more than forty families. This series opens with the Wassenaar family, presented as the most ancient and noble of all.

Apart from these two collections, many separate genealogies were in circulation. In the 16th century, revisions and adaptations flourished. The history of all these texts, their mutual influences and relations, as well as the social and political context of their authors, are still to be analysed.

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ANTHEUN JANSE

Holsteinische Reimchronik (Rhymed chronicle of Holstein)

1381–1460. Northern Germany. A chronicle in 512 lines of Middle Low German verse about the relations between the county of Holstein and the Danish kings from 1199 to 1231. Little else than the anti-Danish perspective from north of Elbe river can be used to determine the author, maybe of Hamburg.

The short introduction states the aim of this writing (*desse schrift*, v. 14) as to show how arrogantly the Danes had mistreated the inhabitants of Holstein (*wat homodes de Denen den Holsten hebben daen*, v. 4) and to characterize the Danish side: *konink Kanutus* (Knud IV, 1162/3–1202) and *konink Woldemar* (Valdemar II, 1170–1241). The narration is organised mainly annalistically, but opens *medias in res* telling of the unsuccessful campaign (1199) of Valdemar against *greve Alf*, Count Adolf III of Schauenburg and Holstein. A flashback gives the reason for the ambitions of the Danes by explaining that a *keiser Frederik* gave Holstein to Valdemar I and his son Knud as a fief (probably a contamination with the fact that the emperor Frederick II assigned these territories to the Danish King in 1214).

From then on, the chronicle—with many epic elements like the triple repetition of the regions of the northelbic land (*Nordawingerlant, dat is Holsten, Dithmarschen, Stormer unde Wagerlant*, 55f., cf. 85f., 358f.) or formulaic descriptions of battles (*slach umme slach*, 485), but also with a theological excursus about free will (268–79)—tells of the battle at Stellau (1201), the capture of Hamburg (1216), the capture of the drunken Voldemar II and his son (1222, i. e. 1223), their release, and the perjury which led to the battle at Bornhöved (22 July 1226; v. 483). The text ends with the death

of the Queen *Ekenor* (Leonor of Portugal 1211–31) while giving birth and her husband's death in despair Valdemar III (1209–31). The main sources of the *Holsteinische Reimchronik* are the → *Sächsische Weltchronik*, the *Annales Hamburgenses* of → Albert of Stade, and the → *Annales Ryenses*.

The oldest and best of three complete manuscripts is Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 820 2°, which according to the cover was copied in 1550 by the learned gentleman farmer and member of the county's government (Achtundvierziger) Johan Russe (1517/8–58) at Lunden (Dithmarschen). It also contains the → *Chronik der Nortelvischen Sassen*, the → *Gemeine Eiderstedtische Chronik*, and the parallel sections of the *Niederdeutsche Cronick aller konninge tho Denemarken*. This manuscript was confiscated when Dithmarschen was conquered in 1559 and sent to Gottorf castle.

The manuscript Hamburg, SB & UB, cod. Hans. I 047 1, written before 1667, contains the prose introduction copied separately in Russe's manuscript and an excerpt of 240 lines from the poem. According to WEILAND, there was probably a larger version of the *Holsteinische Reimchronik*, which would explain why the excerpt in the Hamburg manuscript, known as the *Kurze Hamburgische Reimchronik* or *Kleinere Holsteinische Reimchronik*, covers historical events until the death of Count Adolf IV of Holstein in 1261. TOLDBERG, on the other hand, sees in the lines 165–240 of this shorter version the trace of a lost Adolf IV chronicle which would also be the source for the two fragments about Adolfin in a Hanover manuscript (LB, ms. XXI 1283, fol. 57–60^v, 15th century) mistakenly edited as a part of the *Holsteinische Reimchronik* by WEILAND (lines 513–651), and also for the Latin biography known as *De inclito Adolpho*.

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URSULA KUNDERT

Honorius Augustodunensis

fl. 1098–1140. Germany. Scholar and exegetical writer, author of an encyclopedic world chronicle. He was possibly a German by birth, though the toponym "Augustodunensis" by which he identified himself defies interpretation. The view that he was from Autun in Burgundy has generally been rejected, but the form "Honorius of Autun" will be found in some literature. He is known to have spent time in England in the entourage of Anselm of Canterbury, where he wrote his *Elucidarium* (Book of elucidations), a handbook of basic Christian beliefs. The latter part of his life was spent in Regensburg with the Irish Benedictines of St. Jakob's, where his most important texts were composed. His *De luminaribus ecclesiae* (On the luminaries of the church) is a bibliography of exegetical writers, which includes a list of 21 of his own works.

Honorius's *De imagine mundi* (On the image of the world) is a compendium of historical, geographical and cosmographical knowledge. It was first composed around 1110, and reissued several times over the following thirty years in new versions by the same author. It is divided into three books, each in numbered chapters. Book 1 begins with a survey of the nations, then turns to the physical nature of the world and finally to the nature of the universe. Book 2 explores the nature of time, which, being linked to the movements of heavenly bodies, follows naturally from the astronomical account at the end of Book 1. The third book then pursues historical time in a chronicle from Adam to the date of writing. As the aim is to locate all knowledge of the physical world in a relatively short and structured whole, the historical account lacks detail and eschews enthusiastic narrative. The chronicler is concerned only to sort out the framework within which known narratives are to be understood. Thus for example, the entire deluge story is dispatched in two sentences: *Noe vixit.dcccc.l. annos. Huius tempore extitit diluuium* (Noah lived 950 years. In his days there was a flood). Roman history is presented under a scheme of ten persecutions of the Church. For the medieval period, only lists of popes and emperors are provided.

The *Imago mundi* was immensely influential, to the extent that a whole genre is known after it, the *imago mundi* type of the world chronicle. It was used heavily as a source for much later chron-

icle writing, including → Gervase of Tilbury, → Henry of Heimburg, the → *Annales Palidenses*, the English *Table of the World* (see → Genealogical Chronicles in English and Latin), the German vernacular *Weltchronik* of → Rudolf von Ems (especially for his geographical excursus), and less intensively → Jans der Enikel. It exists in translations into French by Gossuin of Metz (*L'image du monde*) and English (partial) by → Caxton (*Mirrou of the World*). Among the surviving 12th-century manuscripts are London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B.IV & Harley 4348; Paris, BnF, lat. 6560; Brussels, KBR, 10862–5; Munich, BSB, clm 14348 & 14731 (these both from Regensburg); Vienna, ÖNB, 539, 818 & 2479; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 248; Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, 400; Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, a IX i; and Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 172.

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GRAEME DUNPHY

Hrotsvit of Gandersheim

fl. 935–73. Germany. Noblewoman and canoness at Gandersheim Abbey (Benedictine) in Lower Saxony, first known female author from any Germanic language-group—though she wrote in Latin. Instructed by her teacher Rikkardis and abbess Gerberga, Hrotsvit wrote three books of legends, moral plays and two historical works. She was acquainted with Roman literature and intended to provide a Christian alternative to the comedies of Terence.

Her *Gesta Ottonis*, a poem of originally 1517 lines (837 survive), was finished before the year 968. Commissioned by Gerberga on the occasion of the coronation of Emperor Otto the Great, they recalled the deeds of this sovereign, describing him as a living image of the biblical kings.

Hrotsvit's *Primordia coenobii Gandeshemensis*, written before 973, is a chronicle of Gandersheim Abbey from its foundation to 919. It too is written in verse; 594 lines survive. The *Primordia* were a source for the Gandersheim memorial, a

document of the 11th-century dispute between the dioceses of Mainz and Hildesheim on the ownership of Gandersheim Abbey.

The manuscript (BSB, cgm, 14485) was discovered by Conrad → Celtis in 1493/4 in St. Emmeram near Regensburg. A first edition by Celtis and his fellow humanists, celebrating Hrotsvit as a "German Sappho", appeared in Nuremberg in 1501.

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BARBARA SCHMID

Huber, Ulrich

[Rüegger von Lichtensteig]

15th century. Switzerland. First mentioned 1487, died ca 1503. Notary and clerk in Wil of the abbey of St. Gallen, author of the *Wiler Chronik des Schwabenkriegs* (Wil Chronicle of the Swabian War) of 1499. In a notary text he calls himself "Ulrich Huber, genannt Rüegger von Lichtensteig"; Lichtensteig is his place of birth, but the origin of the name "Rüegger" is unknown.

The chronicle is the most important source on St. Gallen in the early phase of the Swabian War of 1499. It opens with the situation of the abbey from 1497 and the causes of the war. The main content covers events in the St. Gallen territory and especially in the administrative district of Wil in the period 27th January–4th April 1499. The chronicle was presumably written under supervision of the abbot's governor in Wil, Marx Brunmann and completed before the end of 1499. Huber styled his text as a kind of diary, providing a detailed picture of the everyday life at war, the military precautions of the local government, problems with shortage of food and rising prices, and the constant tenseness in respect of common false alarms. The main source for the chronicle was the author's own observations, supplemented with information from the correspondence of the governor: 27 missives are reproduced in full.

The chronicle survives in two slightly different versions, both autographs: one, apparently a copy

for the government of Wil itself (St. Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Bd. 114, 126^v–149^v, 162^r–188^r), the other in fragmentary form, dealing only with the events of 11th–27th March 1499 (St. Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Rubr. 13, Fasz. 10, 1–24). The latter version lacks the missives, but contains two additional descriptions. Possibly it was addressed to the abbot personally, with the intention of documenting the conduct and leadership of the abbot's officials in Wil.

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ANDRE GUTMANN

Hugh Candidus

[Hugh White, Hugo Candidus, Hugo Albus]

ca 1095–ca 1160. England. Benedictine monk, sub-prior of the Peterborough monastery, and author of its first local chronicle, which was completed after his death, and later continued by anonymous monks and inserted into a Peterborough Cartulary, which was destroyed in the 1731 fire of the Cotton collection. Most of this version is known from a transcription made by (or for) George Davenport in 1652 (now Cambridge, UL, Dd.14.28). It was the source for the Anglo-Norman → *Geste de Burch*, and was continued and adapted in the mid 13th century by → Robert of Swaffham (Cambridge, UL, Peterborough Dean and Chapter ms. 1) and in the early 14th century by → Walter of Whittlesey (London, BL, add. ms. 39758).

The chronicle includes several charters concerning the foundation and possessions of the monastery and a version of the *Resting-Places of Saints*. It shares a collection of sources, probably compiled by Hugh, with the Peterborough E-text of the → *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Hugh's chronicle presents a roughly chronological account of the history of the monastery from its foundation in 655 to the end of the abbacy of William de Waterville in 1175. Describing the monas-

tery's golden age after its re-foundation following the Viking invasions in the 10th century, Hugh presented the Norman Conquest as the turning point in the monastery's fortunes. Three prophecies predict the plundering of the monastery, a subsequent devastating fire, and the eventual fatal dispute between two monks which would lead to the destruction of the monastery. Though the first two came true, the last prophecy remained unfulfilled when Hugh left his chronicle to the later continuators.

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SJOERD LEVELT

Hugh of Amiens

[Hugo de Ambianis, Hugues de Boves, Hugh of Reading]

12th century. Normandy. Exegete who chronicled some minor heresies. Born (at Boves?) near Laon ca 1085, he studied under Anselm of Laon before becoming a monk at Cluny. Later he was appointed prior of St. Martial at Limoges and then of St. Pancras at Lewes. In 1125 he was named as the first abbot of the new royal monastery at Reading (unusual as Cluniac houses had priors as heads), a post he held until 1129/30 when he was elected Archbishop of Rouen. In 1145 he started the re-construction of Rouen Cathedral, but his death in 1164 prevented him from seeing much progress. He witnessed the first ostension of the Lord's cope and tunic, discovered at Argenteuil in 1156.

Hugh was essentially a Latin exegetical writer, known particularly for his *Tractatus in Hexameron* or *De Creatione Rerum* (Troyes, BM, 423) of which extracts were published by Dom Martène in his *Anecdota V* (Paris, 1717). Recently the riposte to St. Bernard has been recognised as his work. His *Contra Haereticos* or *De Haeresibus sui temporis*, published by d'Acheri as an appendix to the works of → Guibert de Nogent, has some claims to be a chronicle, but only of church practices concerning the sacraments. The heretics of his time are minor figures like Eon de Stella.

No mention is made of Catharism, Abelard and so forth. The work survives in Rouen, BM, 1422.

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KEITH BATE

Hugh of Farfa

[Ugo Farfensis]

973?–1038. Italy. Benedictine monk and abbot of Farfa 998–1009, 1014–27, and 1036–38. Author of the *Destructio monasterii farfensis* and *Relatio constitutionis*.

The *Destructio* chronicles Farfa's history from the late ninth to the end of the tenth century. It begins with the abbacy of Peter (ca 890?–919?), and describes the community's landholdings, buildings, and fortifications, as well as the opulence of its liturgical furnishings and books. The narrative continues with the siege and destruction of the monastery by Arab raiders, which caused the monks to abandon the site around 898, moving on to three other sites before returning to Farfa around 933. The remainder of the *Destructio* recounts the fortunes of the abbey in the tenth century, including the reaffirmation of imperial status with the advent of the Ottonians. Although the text survives in just one manuscript (Vatican, BAV, vat. lat. 6216), the editor of the *Destructio* considers some of the details to have been obfuscated by the intervention of later scribes and redactors. The text was a major source for → Gregory of Catino's *Chronicon farfense*.

The *Relatio constitutionis*, a first-person narrative that survives only within Gregory's *Chronicon*, recounts Hugh's reform of the abbey, undertaken at the end of the tenth century with the assistance of William of Volpiano (962–1031) and Abbot Odilo of Cluny (reigned 994–1049), who helped Hugh introduce the Cluniac customs at Farfa.

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SUSAN BOYNTON

Hugh of Flavigny

[of Verdun; Hugo Flaviniacensis, Viridunensis]

ca 1065–post 1111. France. Hugh was a Benedictine monk at Saint-Vanne (Verdun) before being expelled for his support of the pope against the emperor. After a stay at Saint-Bénigne (Dijon) he was appointed abbot of Flavigny in 1096. Political pressure meant that he was expelled in 1099, re-instated in 1100, re-expelled in 1101. He then went to Lorraine, changed allegiance and was appointed abbot of Saint-Vanne by the emperor in 1111. His two-book Latin universal chronicle from the birth of Christ, extant in Berlin, SB, ms. Phill. 1814 and 1870, and Évora, BP, CXXV/2–5, uses the standard sources, → Eusebius, → Jerome, → Prosper of Aquitaine, → Bede and the → *Liber pontificalis*, as well as various local sources such as lives of Lorraine saints and Verdun bishops, and diplomatic documents. The second book is a valuable source for the history of eastern France in the 11th century, despite its chronological shortcomings. It was used by the author of the → *Chronicon S. Petri Vivi*.

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RÉGIS RECH

Hugh of Fleury

early 12th century. France. Author of Latin histories of popes, emperors and French kings. Nothing is known of the life of this Benedictine monk of Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire), except that he died some time after 1122. His work testifies to his love of the chronicle genre, as he started with brief preparatory compilations before proceeding to two more ambitious enterprises.

His four-book *Gesta Romanorum imperatorum*, also known as *Historia ecclesiastica*, relates

the history of popes and emperors from Augustus to the death of Charlemagne. It was finished by 1109 and dedicated to Adèle of Blois, daughter of William the Conqueror. A second version, in six books, running from the legendary king Ninus to the death of the emperor Lothaire, contains several passages from the *Chronographia tripartita* → Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Its success can be measured by the fact that no less than 33 manuscripts survive, of which Berne, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 90 is the best.

The same cannot be said of his second chronicle, the *Liber modernorum regum Francorum*, which for unknown reasons he dedicated in 1122 to the empress Matilda, daughter of the English king Henry Beauclerc and wife of the emperor Henry V. In it Hugh traces the history of the kingdom of France from Charles the Bald to the death of Philippe I. Despite the errors of chronology and transcription, this chronicle constitutes the first official history of the Capetian dynasty. It survives in Dijon, BM, 561).

Hugh also wrote works of hagiography, the *Vita S. Sacerdotis*, the ninth book of the *Miracula S. Benedicti*, and the *De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate*, which he dedicated to Henry Beauclerc.

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Literature: *RepFont* 5, 584f.

RÉGIS RECH

Hugh of Kirkstall

12th century. England. Cistercian. Author of the *Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis Monasterii* (Foundation narrative of Fountains monastery), Fountains being the Cistercian mother house of Kirkstall; and he is likely the author of the first or “long” Kirkstall Chronicle (s.v. → Kirkstall Abbey chronicles). Self-references in the *Narratio* indicate that Hugh had become a monk at Kirkstall ca 1184 and that he wrote the *Narratio* at the request of Abbot John (1203–11) of Fountains.

Primarily a spiritual history, the *Narratio* casts Fountains as an English Cîteaux, born in 1132 out of a contentious reform movement that drove its founders from York into the wilderness, where they settled on land provided by Archbishop

Thurstan of York, meeting at first with difficulty, but later with success. Up to 1190 the *Narratio* is presented as the recollection of an aged Kirkstall monk named Serlo; however, the use of various other sources in this section, together with Hugh’s apparent adoption of the oral-history trope from a Byland Abbey chronicle (the → *Historia fundationis Bellalandae*), suggests that Serlo’s contribution is limited, perhaps to 1139–47 only. Hugh himself serves as eyewitness from 1190/1 until the conclusion, ca 1226/7, during the abbacy of John of Kent (1220–47). Incorporated into the narrative are letters by St. Bernard and Archbishop Thurstan (the latter possibly forged), charters, and numerous conventional Cistercian allusions to Scripture.

One manuscript of the *Narratio* survives in Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. O.1.79 (late 15th century). The Trinity manuscript is not identical with the *Chronicle of the Abbots of Fountains* associated with Abbot John → Greenwell and epitomized in the *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis* of John Leland, who saw it on a visit to Ripon in 1541; but various post-Reformation transcripts and extracts perhaps derive from a now-lost Fountains original. The *Narratio* was first edited by William Dugdale in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 vols. (1655–73), 1.733–60).

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MICHAEL TWOMEY

Hugh of Poitiers

[Hugo Pictavinus]

12th century. France. Author of a Latin history of the Benedictine monastery of Vézelay (Bourgonne, France). Hugh entered the abbey during the time of the abbot Ponce of Montboissier

(1138–61), brother of Peter the Venerable. After Ponce’s death, Hugh became secretary to the new abbot Guillaume de Mello. Judging by his literary output he must have had an excellent education. He compiled the cartulary of the abbey as a source for its history, the *Historia Vizeliacensis monasterii*. The cartulary lays the foundations for the abbey’s claims to exemptions and immunities by collecting seventy acts justifying its rights and privileges, but does not go beyond 1155, when he appears to abandon the document to write the *Historia*. This task took him to 1167. He divided the chronicle into four books, dealing with the disputes the abbots of Vézelay had with the bishops of Autun, the townspeople of Vézelay and the Counts of Nevers. The abbot Ponce is depicted as a hero. In the unique manuscript, Auxerre, BM, 227, a copy of the autograph, Books II and III have suffered serious damage resulting in the loss of a quarter of the text. Hugh has been incorrectly credited with the authorship of two other texts in the manuscript, the *Annales Vizeliacenses* (a universal chronicle from the birth of Christ continued up to 1316) and a short history of the counts of Nevers. *Editio princeps*: L. d’Achery, 1659.

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RÉGIS RECH

Hugh of St. Victor

[Hugo]

ca 1096–1141. France. Latin. Sometimes thought to have been born in Saxony, he was probably born near Ypres in Flanders. Around the age of twenty he joined the regular canons of St. Victor, becoming a teacher, then head of its famous school in 1133. His work reflects his insatiable curiosity over a wide area of subjects, the liberal arts, science, philosophy and Biblical commentary, which led his contemporaries to consider him the new Augustine. In his *Didascalion* he states that the *lectio historica* is the foundation of all doctrine, and consequently he bases his *lectio allegorica* of the Scriptures on history. It is in this perspective that in 1130–31 he composed two monographs, the *Descriptio mappaemundi* and the *Chronicon* or *Liber de tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*.

The two were intended to situate the main events of scriptural (and ecclesiastical) history in time and space as a pair of closely complementary mnemonic works.

Conceived as a pedagogical tool, the *Chronicon* has a particularly useful page layout, influenced by the techniques of *ars memoriae* as found in Cicero and Quintilian. It is composed of sophisticated lists and diagrams, written in facing synchronic columns (chronology of Patriarchs, Hebrew kings, Jerusalem High Priests, Popes and Emperors) [Fig. 14]. The items can be memorised not only by their place on the page but also by the colour of the ink. It survives in 44 manuscripts (including Berne, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 251) but was very popular only in the 12th century. By the 13th century it was losing ground rapidly and was completely disregarded by the end of the Middle Ages. In its time it was used by pseudo-Guillaume → Godel, → Ralph of Diceto, → Robert of St Marianus in Auxerre, → Hélinand of Froidmont and → John of St. Victor.

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RÉGIS RECH

Hugh Sottewain

[Hugh the Chantor, Hugh Sottovagina]

d. ca 1140. England. Canon of York Minster by ca 1109, precentor by August 1133, and possibly archdeacon of Cleveland. Wrote *Historia ecclesiae Eboracensis* between early 1127 and September 1128. Hugh's history records the Anglo-Norman phase of the so-called “primacy dispute”, a phase in which the conflict hinged on the validity of Archbishop Lanfranc's custom that the elect of York should make a written profession of obedience to his southern counterpart. Hugh's narrative begins with the attempts of archbishops Thomas I (1070–1100), Gerard (1101–8) and Thomas II (1108–14) to resist this demand; but it is most detailed for the years 1114–27, when Thurstan II (1114–40), defying Henry I and risking the loss of his see, obtained from the papacy privileges and letters freeing York from this

indignity. Having followed Thurstan into exile, Hugh seems to have been present at many of the meetings, making his observations an important source for the workings of the ecclesiastical and papal courts. Writing for subsequent canons and archbishops, he ends by urging them to imitate Thurstan II in his defence of the archbishopric's status. The work survives in a 14th-century copy, York, Minster Library, L2/1.

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PAUL ANTONY HAYWARD

Hugo Falcandus

fl. mid-12th century. Italy. Wrote the *Liber de Regno Sicilie* (Book of the realm of Sicily), a vivid and detailed account of the Sicilian royal court 1154–69. Couched in a sophisticated Latin style, by an author steeped in Roman literature, this is one of the most important historical works of the 12th-century Renaissance. The authorship remains controversial. The name Hugo Falcandus comes from the first printed edition of 1550, derived from a now-lost manuscript; none of the four surviving medieval manuscripts mention it, and recent attempts to identify the author are unconvincing. The *Liber* was almost certainly completed before the death of William II in 1189, and appears to have been written in two distinct sections, the first covering the reign of William I up to 1162, and then, after a very brief linking passage, a second dealing with the minority of William II 1166–9. Whoever the author was, he was an insider at the royal court, who regarded the factional disputes there with horror and loathing. He stigmatised William I as a lazy and capricious tyrant, and was even more hostile to the latter's minister Maio of Bari, who was murdered in 1160. But ‘Falcandus’ had little good to say about anyone, and his tone throughout is excoriating. Even his occasional words of praise were usually tinged with faint contempt or a barbed conclu-

sion. The two most important manuscripts are Vatican, BAV, lat. 10690 (ca 1230) and Paris, BnF, lat. 6262 (ca. 1300). BnF, lat. 5150 (once owned by Petrarch) is a copy of the former, and BnF, lat. 14357 of the latter—these both date from the 14th century.

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GRAHAM A. LOUD

Humbert de Pas de Wonck

ca 1350/1360–1432. Low Countries. Secretary to the deputy mayors of Liège. The text of his *Chronique de Liège* is lost. This town chronicle began in the 6th century with St. Monulphe, and ran to the beginning of the 15th century. An extract is quoted in the *Chronicon Leodiense* of → Jean de Stavelot.

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CHRISTIAN DURY

Hydatius

[Idacius]

468–9. Hispania. Bishop of Aquae Flaviae in Gallaecia (now Chaves in northern Portugal). Hydatius had travelled in the East as a young orphan and saw → Jerome. After becoming bishop, he played a leading rôle in defending his

city and territory against the depredations of the Sueves, even being sent to Gaul on an embassy to Aëtius in 431–2. He wrote a chronicle in continuation of Jerome, which opens in 379 with a typical account of the history of the Roman empire. As the chronology advances events in Spain begin to take centre stage. The end focusses almost entirely on a decidedly isolated and battered post-Roman Gallaecia, thus making it the earliest extant example of post-imperial (and medieval) literature. The situation seemed so hopeless that Hydatius believed that the end of the world was approaching (in 482) and structured his work with an eye to demonstrating this. The chronicle was used by a number of later chroniclers down to the 12th century, like the author of the → *Gallic Chronicle of 511*, → Isidore, → Fredegar, and → Sigebert of Gembloux. It survives intact in a single manuscript (Berlin, SB, ms. Phill. 1829) and as an epitome in four others.

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RICHARD W. BURGESS

Hyde Annals

late 13th century. England. Annals running from the Incarnation to 1280, surviving in Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 91. They are identical to the so-called → *Reading Annals* in BL, Vespasian E.iv for 1–1202. Completed before the Benedictine abbey at Hyde surrendered to Winchester, they were the source for the → *Winchester Annals* for 1202–77. Their preface in Bodley 91 was cut from the manuscript and attached to the MS of the → *Worcester Annals*, BL, Cotton Caligula A.x. The annals of Hyde, → Waverley, and Reading are all believed to be descended from a lost Winchester chronicle (*Wintonienses deperditi*) that began with the incarnation and ended ca 1280.

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EDWARD DONALD KENNEDY

Hypatian Chronicle

[Ipaťevskaja letopis']

late 13th-century. Galicia-Volhynia. A chronicle in Church Slavonic, named after the oldest manuscript in the group, formerly belonging to the Hypatian monastery in Kostroma (now St. Petersburg, Библиотека Российской Академии наук, 16.4.4, 1420–30; the other manuscripts are 16th–17th century). It reflects the continuous chronicle-writing activity in Southern Rus'. The common core of the chronicle was continuously updated through the 12th century, probably in the Vydubyci St. Michael's monastery near Kiev. From the mid-13th century on the chronicle was continued in Volhynia. There it received its last part and final shape.

The *Hypatian Chronicle* brings together several chronicle traditions, partly reworking them considerably. There are three main components: the *Primary Chronicle* tradition (s.v. → *Povest' vremennykh let*), the *Kievan Chronicle* tradition and the → *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* tradition. It opens with the *Primary Chronicle* of the so-called 'third' redaction (after Šachmatov's classification, for which it is the principal witness). In contrast to the copies of the → *Laurentian Chronicle of 1377* group, the text of the *Primary Chronicle* here does

not break off with 1110 but continues to 1117 and is immediately followed by the text of the *Kievan Chronicle*.

The *Kievan Chronicle*, by far the most elegant and eloquent as well as the most detailed chronicle of Kievan Rus', focuses on the deeds of the house of Volodimer Vsevolodovic Monomach and its struggle for Kiev and supremacy in Rus'. Its principal protagonists are Volodimer's grandsons Izjaslav and Rostislav and their sons. It is believed that the *Kievan Chronicle* also absorbed parts of other local traditions, among them those of Cernihiv and Galicia. The *Kievan Chronicle* ends with the ceremonial oration of St. Michael's father superior Moses on the occasion of the construction of a wall in the monastery sponsored in 1198 by the prince of Kiev Rjurik Rostislavic.

After the Mongol invasion, Prince Daniel of Galicia had the chronicle expanded by the family records of Volhynian princes; this third section is a re-working of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*.

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OLEKSIY TOLOCHKO

Iacobus de Delayto

after 1350–ca 1409. Northern Italy. Son of Nascimbene de Delayto; we have no details about his family apart from a mention of a brother, though other Delaytos appear in documents around this time. He was born in Rovigo; after studying law he became a notary in the chancery of the Este court in Ferrara. Alberto d'Este, marchese di Ferrara (1347–93), made him chancellor in 1390, and he continued in post under Alberto's son, Niccolò III (1384–1441). He probably died around 1409, as his chronicle breaks off at that date.

Delayto is nowhere given the title of court historian, but his *Chronica nova illustris et magnifici domini Nicolai marchionis Estensis* (New chronicle of the illustrious and magnificent Lord Niccolò marquis of Este), written 1393–1409, is clearly an official history, a continuation of the anonymous → *Chronicon Estense*. Though composed in an unattractively dry chancery style, its wealth of detail makes it an extremely valuable historical source for the history of Ferrara and the Este family at the turn of the 15th century. The text appears to have been virtually unknown outside court circles and was not used by any later chronicler. Only two 15th-century manuscripts survive: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, cod. lat. 389, olim a.H.4.1 (15th century) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.J.5.22 (15th–16th century).

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PETER DAMIAN-GRINT

I

Iacopo Piacentino

[Iacopus Placentinus, Giacomo da Piacenza]

14th century. Italy. Born in Piacenza at the end of the 13th century, Iacopo da Piacenza served as a public notary in the ducal chancery of the Venetian Republic from 1317, sometimes acting as an envoy on missions to Sicily and other states. In 1340 he was charged with trading state secrets to Venice's enemies, fined and dismissed from office. He ended his days as a schoolmaster in Venice, probably murdered in a local quarrel in 1349. His major work is a Latin prose chronicle, written in 1339, of the events of Venice's war with the Scaligeri lords of Verona that led to the liberation of Padua in 1337, and Venice's conquest and occupation of Treviso in 1339. Iacopo was probably an eyewitness to some of the events he describes, and his narrative is especially valuable for its details on military operations and inclusion of speeches (no doubt retouched) of the diplomats for the major parties. His *Poemetto*, written in Latin hexameters in imitation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, is a much freer account of the first year of the war that is available only in a truncated version. Manuscript: Venice, BNM, Lat. 394 (2021).

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BENJAMIN G. KOHL

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam

['Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam]

187–257 AH (803–71 AD). Egypt. Under the name Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam are known the son and the four grandsons of Abd al Ḥakam (d. ca 171 AH/787–88 AD), a family of influential historians and legal teachers of Egypt. One historian of this family, named Abū 'l Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd Allāh, wrote the earliest extant history of Egypt in seven books called *Futūḥ Misr* (Conquest of Egypt). The work offers not only dates on the conquest of Egypt, but also on the conquest of North Africa and Spain. The book describes the features of Egypt and its ancient history, the Arab conquest, as well as descriptions of the administrative and financial organization. His history is a collection of *hadīth*. One manuscript of this work in Leiden, UB, Or.1413 another one in Manisa, İI Halk Kütüphanesi, 281,2.

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Ibn Abī al-Dam

[Shihāb al-Dīn 'Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abī al-Dam al-Ḥamawī]

583–642 AH (1187–1244 AD). Lebanon. Arab historian and Shāfi'i, born and died in the Lebanese village of Ḥamāt. After studies in Baghdad, he taught in Cairo, Aleppo and in his native city, where he became judge. His main contribution to historical writing is an annalistic work which covers the period from the life of the Prophet until the year 628 AD and which survives in Alexandria, Municipal Library, ms. 1292b. He also wrote a huge biographical work, *al-Ta'rikh al-Muzaffarī*, which is lost.

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Ibn al-Adīm, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar

[Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abū al-Qāsim 'Umar ibn 'Ahmad ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-'Adīm]

588–660 AH (1192/93–1262 AD). Syria, Egypt. A hanafi scholar of law, official and envoy, he held appointments at various institutions and in various functions in his native Aleppo, and was later active in Cairo, where he died. He was the author of the Arabic *Bughyat al-talab fi ta'rikh Halab* (Everything Desirable about the History of Aleppo) and *Zubdat al-halab fi ta'rikh Halab* (The cream of the history of Aleppo).

Ibn al-Adīm's magnum opus, the *Bughyat* is a biographical dictionary of the notables linked to the town of Aleppo. The extant manuscripts include an extensive topographical introduction and over two thousand entries ranging from Aristotle to contemporaries. It stands in the tradition of earlier dictionaries such as → Ibn 'Asakir's work on Damascus. Its most important feature, which is linked to the author's background, is the inclusion of a broad range of persons from different walks of life whereas similar works tend to focus exclusively on scholars. The author finished a draft copy, but did not complete the final draft. The manuscripts are incomplete and considerable sections of the work are lost. The earliest and the most complete manuscripts are Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 3036 and Istanbul, Topkapı sarayı müzesi, Ahmet III, I–VIII, covering 10 volumes.

His second principal work, the *Zubda*, is a chronicle of northern Syria from early times to 1243 (Paris, BnF, arabe 1666). It is much smaller than the *Bughyat*, but constitutes the most informative source for events in the regions in the earlier part of the 13th century.

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KONRAD HIRSCHLER

Ibn al-'Athīr

['Izz al-Dīn 'Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn al-'Athīr]

555–630 AH (1160–1233 AD). Mesopotamia. 'Izz al-Dīn was born near Mosul in northern Iraq. One of three brothers, each of whom achieved fame in a different scholarly discipline, 'Izz al-Dīn was the noted historian among them. Their father was an official of the ruling Zangid Atabeg dynasty of Mosul which provided the family with sufficient comfort for 'Izz al-Dīn to lead the life of a private scholar working from a country home. The family also endowed a Sufi hospice in Mosul. Although he did not match the extensive travels of some of his predecessors such as al-→ Mas'ūdī and al-→ Ya'qūbi, he did live for a time in both Aleppo and Damascus. Moreover, he gained further personal experience of "history in the making" by his attachment to the army of Salah al-Din (Saladin) during the Crusader wars in Syria. By the end of his life he must have accumulated a library of enviable size, for the famous geographer Ya'qut to suggest his transferring it to a special foundation in Baghdad, a task that remained unfulfilled.

One of the two works for which he is noted was a history of the Zangids based upon his own experiences and those of his father, whom he cites as a source. This was the *al-Ta'rikh al-bahir fi al-dawla al-atabakiya* (The dazzling history of the Atabeg dynasty). It is found in the manuscript Paris, BnF, arabe 1898.

The major work for which he is best remembered is the universal history *al-Kamil fi'l ta'rikh* (The Complete Book on History). This is a standard annalistic history based upon the earlier classic work, *History of Prophets and Kings* of Abu Jafar al-→ Tabarī (d. 310/923). Indeed, 'Izz al-Dīn states that he abridged al-Tabarī's work for the period from the creation of the world down to 302 (914) where al-Tabarī's work ends, and continued his own work to 628 (1230). Notably, however, 'Izz al-Dīn abandoned al-Tabarī's traditionalist approach of appending a chain of authority (*isnad*) to each report (*khbar*) rendering his narrative more fluid. For the final three centuries, however, 'Izz al-Dīn speaks of his sources as only "well known histories and famous books" without specific identification. Some modern researchers have criticized the *Ta'rikh* for this omission while

perhaps failing to appreciate the work's extent and overall coherence. Of special interest are 'Izz al-Dīn's contemporary observations on the state of the Muslim dominions at the time of the early Mongol invasions and their impact well before the destruction of Baghdad. *al-Kamil fi'l ta'rikh* is transmitted in Paris, BnF, arabe 1495–1504.

Another of his works for which only the title is known, the *Kitab al-jihad*, may have been a warning of what he feared lay ahead and a call to urgent action. Finally, a work which has also not survived bears the intriguing title of *Tuhfat al-'aja'ib wa tarfat al-'ghara'ib fi al-ta'rikh* (The rarity of marvels and novelty of curiosities in history).

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DAVID WAINES

HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Ibn al-Dawādārī

['Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Aybak al-Dawādārī]

7th/8th century AH (13th/14th century AD). Syria. The Mamlūk historian Ibn al-Dawādārī was probably born in Cairo, but his family settled in Damascus when he was a young boy. The exact dates of his birth and death are not known. He is the author of the *Kanz al durar wa-jāmi' al ghurar* (The Treasure of Pearls and the Assemblage of Choice Objects). This universal chronicle, which focusses on Muslim dynasties, is a good example for the "literarization" of historiography during the Mamlūk rule, making use of poetry, anecdotes, *adab* and a more colloquial writing style. Nonetheless the work has an annalistic form and each year is introduced with the name of the ruler. It also provides information on other regions, like for example the kingdom of Mali. This will have been informed by the work he did on his *Kanz al durar* a few years after the visit of Mansa Musa to

Cairo (1324). He was able to draw on the testimony of eye-witnesses, whom he names.

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ROBERT GROWE

Ibn al-Dāya

[ʿAḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿIbrāhīm ibn al-Dāya]

3rd/4th century AH (9th/10th century AD). Egypt. Author of the *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn*, a lost history of the reign of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn (d. 884 AD) the first Tūlūnid ruler of Egypt.

Ibn al-Dāya belonged to the intellectual circle of Baghdad and Samarra but he left Samarra for Damascus and later travelled to Egypt where he remained. In Egypt he had contact with the Abbāsids, as a result of which he was imprisoned by Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, who later released him thanks to the intervention of several influential friends.

Ibn al-Dāya's works are known to us from references in the biography of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn by → al-Balawī under the same title, and from an excerpt of his work in → Ibn Saʿīd's *Mughrib*.

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ROBERT GROWE

Ibn al-Faradī

[ʿAbū al-Walīd ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Nasr al-ʿAzdī ibn al-Faradī]

351–403 AH (962–1013 AD). Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). Biographer, and author of the *Taʿrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus* (History of the learned men of al-Andalus). Ibn al-Faradī studied law in Córdoba, as well as history and literature, expanding his knowledge during his travels to the East and

further studies in Egypt and Mecca. He returned to Spain and taught for a while in Córdoba, before he was named judge (*qāḍī*) of Valencia. He was killed during the sack of Córdoba by the Berbers.

His *Taʿrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, the only surviving work of Ibn al-Faradī, offers us information about the “learned men”, their names, nisba, occupations and dates of death, covering a period from second century AH (eighth AD) until the end of fourth (tenth). This work is important for our knowledge about al-Andalus and marks the beginning of the biographical genre in al-Andalus. He was a source for → Ibn Hayyān's *Muqtabis*. The location of the manuscript is unknown.

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Ibn al-Furāt

[Nāsr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahīm ibn al-Furāt]

735–807 AH (1335–1405 AD). Egypt. Circassian Mamlūk period historian, author of the Arabic *Tārikh al-Duwal waʾl-Mulūk* (History of Dynasties and Kings).

Most of the medieval chroniclers who wrote about or during the early Circassian Mamlūk sultanate (roughly, the last two decades of the 14th century) and after, are directly or indirectly indebted to Ibn al-Furāt, then the foremost historian of Egypt. His *Tārikh al-Duwal*, a universal annalistic chronicle ending in 1401, is typical of the period, with one section for varying reports concerning miscellaneous social, religious, but mainly political events listed chronologically, and the other for obituaries. The extant autograph manuscript (Vienna, ÖNB, A.F. 117–125) covers, with some gaps, the years 1107–1396 of which only some annals, particularly from the

Mamlūk period (the years 1284–95 and 1387–97), have been edited. The “rediscovery” of the manuscript Dublin, Leabharlann Chester Beatty, ms. 4125 has brought to light recensions of the annals of 1371–91 in the hand of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 1448).

For non-contemporaneous years, Ibn al-Furāt copied from authors such as → Ibn al-ʿAthīr (d. 1233 AD), → Baybars al-Mansūrī (d. 1325 AD) and others, some of whom he acknowledged. For the early Circassian period, he literally copied the chronicle *Nuzhat al-Anām* of Ibn Duqmāq (d. 1407), to which he appended massive data, thus making *Tārikh al-Duwal* the most complete primary source for the history of Egypt during this period.

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SAMI MASSOUD

Ibn al-Fuwati

[Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn ʿAḥmad ibn al-Fuwati]

642–723 AH (1244–1323 AD). Mesopotamia. Born in Baghdad, historian and librarian. Most of his work is lost but he is especially known for the *Madjmaʾ al-ādāb fi muʾdjam al-alkāb*, a biographical dictionary dealing with personalities of his lifetime and concentrated on the events in Baghdad. The biographies are arranged by honorary titles as well as by nicknames.

He also wrote other works of different character, like poetical-biographical collections which are lost and are only known to us by title.

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HASAN AL-NABOODAH

Ibn al-Jawzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
[ʿAbū al-Farash ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jawzī]

510–97 AH (1126–1200 AD). Mesopotamia. Hanbali preacher and scholar of history, law and hadith, native of Baghdad, and author of the Arabic *al-Muntazam fi taʿrīkh al-muluk wa-al-umam* (The Well-Organised [Book] Concerning the History of Kings and Peoples).

Throughout his life, Ibn al-Jawzī played an active role in the political and religious life of Baghdad, maintaining close relationships with the Caliphs, viziers and the leading scholars. Until he fell into disgrace towards the end of his life, he filled various positions, especially in educational institutions. His fame rested primarily on his sermons, in which he supported the Sunni revival of his age. Ibn al-Jawzī was a prolific writer and chronicle-like information can be found in many of his non-historical works. His grandson → Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī was the author of the renowned universal history *Mirʾat al-zaman*, which covered the period from Creation to 654/1256 and that was inspired by the *Muntazam*.

This universal chronicle, *al-Muntazam*, for which slightly varying titles exist, covers the period from the Creation until 574/1179. It is of special interest for the history of Mesopotamia, especially Baghdad. Ibn al-Jawzī drew on the well-known sources, such as → al-Tabarī for the early Islamic period, but due to information unique to it, the work gains already in interest from the mid-3rd/9th century onwards. In contrast to other universal histories, one unique characteristic of this work is the exceptionally high number of often very detailed biographies. In this sense it is one of the borderline works between chronicles and biographical dictionaries. The only near-complete manuscript is Istanbul, Topkapı sarayı müzesi, Ahmed III tarih 526.

Besides Ibn al-Jawzī's own summary-cum-supplement (*Shudhur al-ʿuqud fi taʿrīkh al-ʿuhud*), two further abridgements and two supplements (*dhayl*) were authored in the following centuries.

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KONRAD HIRSCHLER

Ibn al-Khatīb

[Lisān al-Dīn Dhū al-Wizāratayn 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Alī ibn 'Aḥmad ibn al-Khatīb al-Salmānī]

713–76 AH (1313–74 AD). Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). Born Loja, Granada; died Fez, Morocco. An outstanding minister and writer in al-Andalus, he took a prominent place in the political actions of the Nasride emirate of Grenada, in the mid-14th century. And he wrote some sixty literary works about different matters from medicine to poetry. These are recorded by the maghribī compiler al-Maqqari, in his *Azhār al-riyād* and specially in his *Nafḥ al-tīb*, dedicated to Ibn al-Khatīb. Ibn al-Khatīb's surviving historical compositions are:

- 1) *Al-Ihāta fī akhbār Garnāta* (The Complete Source on the History of Granada), a voluminous compilation of historical and biographical news on personalities from Grenada, or related to this territory (El Escorial, RMSL, no. 1673).
- 2) His concise chronicle "The splendour of fool moon about the Nasride dynasty" (*al-Lamḥa al-badriyya*), with a description of Granada, its habitants and the Alhambra's princes, until 765/1364 (El Escorial, RMSL, no. 1771 bis).
- 3) His excellent compendium "Actions of notabilities", on Islamic kings proclaimed before their majority (*A'māl al-a'lām*), with parts on: 1: Islamic Orient; 2: al-Andalus from 92/711 until Ibn al-Khatīb's epoch (including a sketch on Christian medieval kingdoms in Iberian Peninsula); and 3: the Maghrib, until the Almohades.
- 4) *Raqm al-hulal*: a very long historical poem in *radjaz*, on some outstanding dynasties, between them the Nasrids of Grenada.

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JESÚS VIGUERA

Ibn al-Qalānisī

['Abū Ya'lā Ḥamza ibn Asad ibn al-Qalānisī al-Tamīmī]

465–555 AH (1073–1160 AD). Syria. He studied literature, theology and law, and subsequently became involved in public service. He was a secretary in the chancery (*Diwan al-Rasa'il*), and twice he assumed the office of *rais*, or mayor of Damascus, which is the highest civil office. He died in Damascus.

His work, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq* (Supplement to the History of Damascus; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 125), was intended to be a continuation of an earlier chronicle of Hilāl al-Ṣābi, which was interrupted by the death of the latter in 449 (1059).

While the history of Hilāl was universal in its scope, Ibn al-Qalānisī's work was centred on the city of Damascus and its rulers. His work covers a period of a hundred and seven years, 448/1056 to 555/1160. The chronicle, however, begins eighty five years earlier in 363/973 with extracts from the history of Hilāl al-Ṣābi.

In composing his chronicle, Ibn al-Qalānisī adhered strictly to the chronological order of which the unit is the year. Since Ibn al-Qalānisī was in a position that enabled him to gain access to documents and official charters, it is very probable that he utilized such material in his chronicle.

However, he does not quote any documents and undoubtedly used information derived from oral and written reports of eye witnesses. No authority is cited by name except for → Khatīb al-Baghdādī, whom he quoted for the revolt of al-Basasiri at Baghdad.

The utilization of official documents by Ibn al-Qalānisī, gives his work a good measure of credibility. The accounts of Ibn al-Qalānisī are generally accurate. A remarkable feature of his narrative is the unevenness of style, usually simple and uncomplicated.

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MONA HAMMAD

Ibn 'Alqāmā, 'Abd Allāh

Muḥammad ibn al-Khālaf

[Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Khālaf Ibn 'Alqāmā]

428–509 AH (1036/37–1116 AD). Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). Born in Valencia, he was a bureaucrat and wrote a local history of his native city which describes the capture of Valencia by El Cid and his rule over this city. This work, which bears the title "The clear exposition of the disastrous tragedy", seems to finish before the death of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (el Cid) in 1099. The original text is lost, but a great part has come down to us by the later historian → Ibn 'Idhārī, who is considered a reliable transmitter of the sources he used. The title of the original work shows us the point of view hostile to Rodrigo, but nonetheless the work is a valuable source for an Islamic reaction towards the rule of El Cid in Valencia. This is the only source that offers us information about El Cid's government.

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Ibn al-Qūtiya

['Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Qūtiya]

d. 367 AH (977 AD). Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). Córdoba grammarian and lexicographer who authored one of the earliest Arabic chronicles on Muslim Spain. A distant descendant of the Visigothic king Witiza, he enjoyed a high rank at the Caliphal court of al-Ḥakam II (r. 350–66/961–76). His work *Ta'rikh iftitāh al-Andalus* (History of the Conquest of al-Andalus) is based on oral sources (*khābar*) and was probably compiled by a disciple after the author's death. It runs from the conquest to the Independent Emirate period (138–316/756–929) and includes information of particular interest regarding ninth-century Córdoba life. Manuscript: Paris, BnF, arabe 1867. At least three more copies appear to be extant (Leiden, Munich and Cairo).

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CRISTINA ÁLVAREZ MILLÁN

Ibn al-Rāhib

[Abū Shākir Nushū' al-Khilāfa ibn al-Sanā' Abū l-Karam Butrus ibn al-Muhadhhab]

ca 1210–95. Egypt. State official and Coptic deacon in Cairo. Author of an Arabic *Kitāb al-tawārikh* (Book of Chronologies), finished in 1257. It begins with sections on astronomy and chronography (chapters 1–47), and continues with Eusebian parallel-column prose histories of the world from Adam to Heraclius (ch. 48), of Muslim rulers (ch. 49), and of the Coptic patriarchs (ch. 50), ending in an account of the Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Orient (ch. 51). The important 16th-century Ge'ez translation by the Archimandrite 'Enbāqom contains additional chapters. The *Kitāb al-tawārikh* draws on earlier chronicles by Christian, Jewish, and Muslim authors. It was an important source for al-→ Makīn ibn al-'Amīd and, through his work, → al-Maqrīzī and → Ibn Khaldūn.

Ibn al-Rāhib was also credited with the authorship of the *Chronicon orientale* from its publication in Latin by Abraham Ecchellensi in 1615 until the attribution was discredited by M. CHAÏNE in 1931. The *Chronicon orientale* reprises chs. 48–50 of the *Kitāb al-tawārikh*, but the precise relationship of the two works has yet to be determined. SIDARUS characterized the *Chronicon* as a compendium of *Kitāb al-tawārikh*, but MICHEAU observed that for the period of the Crusades the *Chronicon* contains much information not found in (the Berlin manuscript of) the *Kitāb al-tawārikh*. One might hope that the edition and translation of *Kitāb al-tawārikh* now in preparation by S. MOAWAD will address this matter.

Manuscripts: The *Kitāb al-tawārikh* exists in London, BL, or. 1337 and Berlin, SB, or. fol. 434, as well as several others known to have been used in the modern period, but now missing. CHEIKHO's edition of the *Chronicon* was based on Vatican, BAV, vat. ar. 166, fol. 1^v-87^v; other manuscripts exist.

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LUKE YARBROUGH

Ibn al-Shihna

[Muḥibb al-Dīn 'Abū al-Faḍl

Muḥammad Ibn al-Shihna al-Halabī]

ca 804-90 AH (1402-85 AD). Lebanon. Ibn al-Shihna was the chief judge of Aleppo for the Hanafi school of law, and the son of Shaykh al-Islām Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Walīd Muhammad ibn Kamāladdīn Muhammad Ibn al-Shihna (ob. 1412), who wrote the *Rawdat al-manāz. ir fi 'ilm al-awā'il wa 'l-awākhir* (Garden of the spectacles of the history of antiquity and modernity). The text survives in the copy and translation conserved in Paris, BnF, arabe 1539-1541 and London, BL, Or., Add. 23,336.

He also wrote *Al-durr al-muntakhab fi ta'rikh Halab* (Selected Pearls from the History of Aleppo, Leiden, UB, Or. 1444), an undated chronicle about the city of Aleppo from antiquity to the author's time, consisting of two parts, with separate titles and introductions. This town chronicle draws heavily on the works of Bahā' al-Dīn → Ibn Shaddād (d. 1234 AD), → Ibn al-Adīm (d. 1262 AD), and Ibn al-Khatīb al-Nasiriyya (d. 1439 AD).

Known in the West as "Ben Schouna", Ibn al-Shihna was one of the first Muslim chroniclers whose work was studied in the West.

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Chihna. Matériel pour server a l'histoire de la ville d'Alep, 1933 [translation].

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MAURITS VAN DEN BOOGERT

Ibn 'Arabshāh

[Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abū al-'Abbās

'Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ibrāhīm

ibn 'Arabshāh al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī al-'Ajamī]

791-854 AH (1392-1450 AD). Syria. Ibn 'Arabshāh had to leave his native city, Damascus, when it was conquered by Timūr (known in the west as Tamerlane 1336-1405) in 803 (1400/01), and was brought to Samarkand with other inhabitants of Damascus. Here he learned several languages which helped him on his journeys as well as for working as a translator at the court of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed I (reigned 1413-21). His last years were spent in Cairo.

His *Adjā'ib al-maqdūr fi nawā'ib Timūr* (The miracles of fortune in the history of Timūr), written in Arabic and in rhymed prose, is a history of the conqueror Timūr, focussing particularly on his own conquests and also the events under his successors. While the description of Timūr is that of a despotic tyrant, reflecting the author's resentment of the conquest, the work also mentions the outstanding qualities of Timūr.

One manuscript is preserved in Rabat, al-Khazanah al-'Ammah Library, ms. 2890. A Turkish version can be found in the BL, add. 7847.

His other known work, *the Fākihat al-khulafā' wa-mufākahat al-zurafā'* (Fruits of the Caliphs and Jokes of the Witty), written in 852/1448 deals with the conduct of the ruler and different animal fables. Only in the last chapter does the work turn to historical matters, treating the rise of Ghengis Khan and the history of the Mongols.

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Ibn 'Asakir, Thiqqat al-Dīn 'Ali

[Thiqat al-Dīn 'Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn

'Abī Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn Hibat

Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn

ibn al-'Asākir al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'i al-Ḥāfiz]

499-571 AH (1106-75 AD). Syria. The most famous member of the notable 'Asakir family of Damascus, hadith-scholar and author of the Arabic biographical dictionary *Tarikh madinat Dimashq* (History of Damascus).

This work is centred on Syria and especially Damascus, containing some 10,000 biographies of individuals (among them 200 women) who lived in the town or passed through it. Some thirty biographies refer to pre-Islamic figures that play a role in Islamic salvation history, such as Adam, Noah, John The Baptist and Mary. The scope of the work transcends mere biography and contains often unique information on the history of Syria and occasionally beyond during the first five and a half Islamic centuries.

Ibn 'Asakir was encouraged to compose this work by the Zengid ruler Nur al-Dīn (d. 569/1174); Ibn 'Asakir held a professorship in Nur al-Dīn's newly founded Dar al-hadith, the institutional centre of the ruler's religious policy. The text must therefore be understood in the context of the active pro-Sunni and anti-Shi'i policy of the Zengids. The work enjoyed an outstanding popularity, as witnessed by notes on reading sessions in the following decades and in a number of supplements (*dhayl*) that were produced in the subsequent centuries. In addition, several of the grand historians of the Mamluk period included summaries of the *Tarikh madinat Dimashq* in their own works, among them Ibn Manzur (d. 711/1311-12), → Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), Ibn Qadī Shuhba (d. 851/1448) and al-→ Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).

The eighty-volume AL-'AMRAWI edition is complete, but of inferior scholarly quality compared to the still incomplete Damascene *Majma' al-lughā* edition started in the 1950s. The work is preserved in three nearly complete copies

(Damascus, Asad library, Zahiriya catalogue/Yusuf al-'Ush, pp. 109-30; Istanbul, Topkapı sarayı müzesi, Ahmad III, no. 2887; Marrakesh, Ibn Yusuf, nos 1665-92) and in many additional copies containing one or several of its volumes.

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KONRAD HIRSCHLER

Ibn Bassām

[Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī]

d. 542 AH (1147/8 AD). Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). Historian and Poet, born in Santarém. Ibn Bassām is the author of the *al-Dhakīra fi mahāsīn ahl al-Jazīra* (The Treasury of the Virtues of the People of the Peninsula), written between 1106 and 1109 in Seville, an eight volume biographical dictionary. The work contains large passages of the *al-Matīn* of → Ibn Ḥayyān, these being the only parts of the work of Ibn Ḥayyān that survive today.

The major aim of the *al-Dhakīra* (e.g. Erfurt/Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, ms. orient. A 2136) is to show the literary achievements of the Andalusians. The work is organized geographically divided in four parts covering: Córdoba, the west of al-Andalus, the East and the foreign writers residing in Al-Andalus. The entries consist of a biographical section written in rhymed prose, with additional comments and extracts of the works of the different authors. For this reason the *al-Dhakīra* is an important source for the study of the literature of Muslim Spain containing texts that are can be found nowhere else.

In the first part of his third volume he also informs us about El Cid (Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, died 10th July 1099). Since his work was written ten years after the death of El Cid, it is very close to the events. Like → Ibn 'Alqāmā he was hostile to Rodrigo, and hence gives us an idea of the Muslim view concerning El Cid.

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HEIDI R. KRAUSS-SÁNCHEZ

Ibn-i Bībī

[al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ja'farī al-Rughadī Ibn al-Bībī al-Munajjima]

pre-627–684 AH (1230–85 AD). Iran. Known as Ibn Bībī al-Munajjima (son of the Astrologer Lady), a high-ranking official and the author of *al-Awāmīr al-'Alā'iyya fi 'l-umūr al-'Alā'iyya*, the principle work on the history of the Seljūq rulers of Rūm, which is written in Persian and was completed before Dhū al-Ḥijja 679 AH (23.03.1281), covering the period from 588–679 AH (1192/3–1280/1 AD).

Ibn Bībī's (or Persianised Ibn-i Bībī) parents belonged to intellectual and administrative elite, and he himself was given the level of education which allowed him to occupy a high position at the Seljūq court. His father, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Tarjumān (d. 670/1272), was a *munshī* (secretary) at the court of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh, where he served under the command of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. Later he was a *munshī* at the Seljūq court and participated in a number of important diplomatic missions. Ibn Bībī's mother, Bībī Munajjima (d. before early 1281) seemingly was more famous than her husband and was well-known for her astrological skill. She came from a renowned family from Nishāpūr and was an astrologer first at the court of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh and later at the court of the Seljūq sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Kay Qubād. During the rapid deterioration of the power of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh in 1231, Ibn Bībī's parents first moved to the Ayyūbid court at Damascus and soon to the Seljūq court (between 1231 and 1233). Both Ibn Bībī's parents were Pērsians at least by language and culture. On Ibn Bībī's life and career it is only known that he was born in Rughad, Māzandarān (judging by his *nisba*) and, at the court of the Seljūqs of Rūm, was a *munshī* and held the office of the Mālik-i Dīwān al-Tughrā (Head of the State Chancellery). Possibly he was born before his parents moved to Anatolia

(that is before early 1230s) and he was still alive in late 1285.

Ibn Bībī's work *al-Awāmīr al-'Alā'iyya fi 'l-umūr al-'Alā'iyya* was compiled at the request of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Atā Malik Djuwaynī and begins with a praise to him. The title of the work can be translated as "[In accomplishment] of the orders of 'Alā' al-Dīn [Djuwaynī] concerning the affairs of [the sultan] 'Alā' al-Dīn [Kay Qubād I]". It is written in the ornate Persian prose of the day, embellished by *saj'* (rhythmical prose) and the author's poetical inserts, but is nonetheless grammatically coherent and comprehensible, characterizing the author as a skilled stylist. Generically, it is a typical of Persian dynastic historical writing, organized according to the successive reigns of sultans with the elements of *adab* (ethic and didactic literature). The length of the full version is 744 manuscript pages; the text is divided into a preface (*muqaddima*) and 151 chapters usually each focussing on a single major event.

The first part of the work (36 chapters, almost a third) covers the period between the accession of the Seljūq sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw I in 1192 and the beginning of the reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Kay Qubād I in 1220, and is partly based on legendary tradition. More detailed and precise data are found beginning with the reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Kay Qubād I, which constitutes the next third of the narration (54 chapters). However, after the establishment of the Mongol domination in Anatolia in 1240s the narrative becomes more sketchy again, completely omitting events of some years. Although the author stated more than once that he based his narration on what he had seen and heard himself, it is clear that he also utilized legendary and oral tradition, documentary material preserved in the state chancellery, very likely some historical texts and probably some collections of poems.

Ibn Bībī focuses on political life of the court and the upper class of the society. He describes in detail conflicts in the ruling Seljūq family, court intrigues, civil wars, diplomatic activity and relations with the Mongols, and is our main source for the royal court, administration, social and ethnic composition, urban, rural and military life of Seljūqid Rūm. An important place is occupied by the foreign policy and cultural life of the Seljūqs.

Ibn Bībī's work exists in two versions. The original, completed ca 1281, survives in the unique copy Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya-

sofya, no. 2985. A competent epitome entitled *Mukhtaṣar* (Abridgement) was compiled by an anonymous author before December 1285, while Ibn Bībī was still alive, and survives in a good unique copy (Paris, BnF, Supplément persan 1536), a critical edition of which has been published by HOUTSMA. A critical edition of the full version is an absolute desideratum.

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RUSTAM SHUKUROV

Ibn Ḥabīb

[Badr al-Dīn 'Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashqī al-Ḥalabī al-Shāfī'i]

710–799 AH (1310–77 AD). Syria. Circassian chancellery employee in the Mamluk period, minor religious official, and historian from the city of Aleppo. Author of *Durrat al-Aslāk fi Dawlat al-Atrāk* (A Pearl Necklace in the History of the Turkish Mamluk State).

Durrat al-Aslāk chronicles the Turkish Mamluk period between 1250 and 1376. Its annals begin with a few accounts of socio-political events, are followed by numerous reports of religious and political appointments in Syria and also in Egypt, and end with voluminous obituaries. Written in rhymed prose and containing numerous verse inserts composed by the author and others, it has little historical value and constitutes a show case for Ibn Ḥabīb's *littérateur* talents. Manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 591 and 319 cover the years 1250–1376 and 1361–99 respectively, the latter including the continuation (1377–99) of Ibn Ḥabīb's chronicle by his son, Zayn al-Dīn Tāhir.

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SAMI MASSOUD

Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī

[Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abū al-Fadl 'Ahmad ibn Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī]

773–853 AH (1372–1449 AD). Egypt. Religious scholar and official, and historian. Author of the Arabic-language *Inbā' al-Ghumr fi Abnā' al-'Umr* (Information for the Uninitiated About the Men of the Time).

A celebrated intellectual of the Circassian Mamluk period (1382–1517), Ibn Hajar was a prominent student of Islamic prophetic traditions, an author of numerous religious works, and long occupied the head judgeship of his Shāfī'i legal school in Cairo. In history, he wrote mostly biographical dictionaries and one annalistic chronicle, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, encompassing the years 1372 to 1447, a continuation (*dhayl*) of the history of Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373), and, with regard to obituaries, of Sallāmī (d. 1372). Ibn Hajar borrowed from numerous authors, such as → Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1405), Ibn Duqmāq (d. 1407), al-→ 'Aynī (d. 1451) and others, to cover both early and contemporary periods. Consequently, his original data are generally fewer and comprise information gleaned